

Working Series Paper #4

**A State of the Art Review
of Income Security Reform
in Canada**

**Jane Pulkingham
Simon Fraser University**

and

**Gordon Ternowetsky
University of Northern
British Columbia**

This document is disseminated as part of a Working Paper Series of IDRC's Assessment of Social Policy Reforms (ASPR) Programme Initiative. ASPR draws on the knowledge and experience of a wide variety of experts. Documents made available through the Working Paper Series are intended to contribute to the debate around ASPR's areas of research. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the International Development Research Centre or ASPR.

**IDRC/CRDI
Ottawa, Canada
April, 1998**

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE
Ottawa / Cairo / Johannesburg / Montevideo / Nairobi / New Delhi / Singapore

ARCHIV
362:339(71)
P8

PREFACE

A State of the Art Review: Income Security Reform in Canada

INTRODUCTION

In both the North and South today, in the context of broader social policy reform trends, increasing attention is being devoted to the revision of social security systems. Globalization, demographic shifts, employment trends and growing poverty underlie a re-examination of the capacity of these systems to protect the basic welfare of societies. Moreover, these reforms are occurring in the context of neo-liberal adjustment and conservative fiscal strategies. Whether in developing or OECD countries, social security systems-- encompassing pension programs, social assistance plans, income support programs and social transfers-- are being considered in light of growing concerns with the limited capacities of states, pre-occupations with affordability and sustainability, a preference for the allocative efficiency of the market, and ideologies which delegate greater responsibility for social welfare to communities and individuals.

SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM IN CANADA

These major changes within the field of social security raise important questions for development policy research. In this context, the **Assessment of Social Policy Reforms Initiative (ASPR)** of **IDRC** has undertaken to explore in Canada, Latin America and Africa some of the emerging issues and requirements for policy relevant knowledge. Titled *A State of the Art Review of Income Security Reform in Canada*, this report constitutes one of a series of studies commissioned by ASPR to lay the groundwork for a programme of cross- regional research in this field.

By contrast with much of the developing world, Canada-- like most other industrialized countries-- possesses a highly institutionalized social security system with relatively broad-based coverage. Since World War II, Canadian public commitments and traditions have been decidedly welfarist in nature. Recent years, however, have witnessed the reform of this system in line with conservative fiscal and socio-political trends, demographic concerns, and labour market developments. These changes raise critical research questions related not only to the reform of various formal or "state-based" federal and provincial programs, but also to the evolution of alternative, "informal" arrangements at the level of communities and even households for the protection of social groups made vulnerable by those reforms. In short, with the retraction of the "Keynesian Welfare State" in Canada, a new model for social security is emerging around revised roles and expectations of the state, the private sector, and civil society.

A TYPOLOGY OF RESEARCH ON INCOME SECURITY REFORM

Based on a wide ranging review of existing literature and a survey of Canadian institutions¹ working in the field, the *State of the Art Review* provides a comprehensive "typology" of the current nature and state of research on income security reform in Canada. Income security represents one facet of Canada's broader social security system, which also includes such other components as health, education and social housing. Recently, there have been major changes in all of these areas, particularly as a result of the introduction of the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1996-- federal legislation which profoundly altered federal/provincial financing arrangements for the social safety net. Particularly salient, however, are the implications of the CHST for income support and social assistance programs.

The typology elaborated in the review is organized around three key areas or streams of research on income security reform:

1. **Formal Income Support Provisions: De-Lineating and Evaluating the Impact of Change:** Focussing on the key legislative reforms and initiatives characterizing the field of social security in Canada today, this section provides a critical overview of the content and current analyses of the CHST (1996), the Canadian Child Tax Benefit (1997) and National Child Benefit (1998), the revised Employment Insurance system, the Canadian Pension Plan and the new Senior's Benefit.
2. **Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Change:** Departing from the recognition that in the 1990s Canada is witnessing radical changes within the labour market related to persistently high unemployment, under-employment, low labour force participation and the growth of non-standard jobs, this section reviews policies and analyses relating to job creation and training programs and welfare to work initiatives.
3. **Policy Alternatives:** Drawing on insights from the preceding sections, and reflecting on the broader implications of reforms in Canada, this section considers current work related to shifting of responsibilities from the state to the "third sector". A critical review of the meaning of and linkages between such increasingly common terms as "devolution", "decentralization", "community capacity", "social capital" and "social cohesion" is provided.

¹ An extensive appendix to this report includes **A Review of Canadian Institutions Involved in Income Security Research**. A selected review, it includes information about the mandate, current initiatives, and publications of four sectors: non-governmental organizations; research institutes and foundations; universities and academic researchers; and government agencies.

Within the framework described above, the review explores themes and reform trends of increasing importance for Canadians. A range of priority research issues are highlighted. These include attention to:

- movements away from universalist principles to more targeted, means-tested programs, particularly with regard to benefits directed at children and seniors;
- the options for and implications of higher contribution rates and privatization in the context of pension reform;
- the impact of revisions to social assistance and employment insurance provisions, and the introduction of more restrictive eligibility criteria and benefit schedules;
- the rationale, cost-benefit implications, and practical results of workfare as a strategy for re-calibrating employment incentives and pressures on social assistance programs;
- and the real impact of down-loading responsibilities for the financing, administration and delivery of income security functions from federal to provincial and municipal levels of government, and more broadly, from the state to communities and individuals.

Throughout the review, issues of inequality are also underscored through analysis of the significance of specific policy changes for various social groups on the basis of age, gender, (dis)ability, and income and employment status. The broad conclusions of the review point to the increasing individualization of risk, an erosion of collective values of social citizenship and entitlement, and an exacerbation of existing, and the creation of new social and economic vulnerabilities.

ASPR: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM

Deepening globalization and the simultaneous adjustment of economies in the North and South has turned greater attention to the distinctly *international* dimensions of social policy. Reductions of trade barriers, international capital flows and competitiveness, demographic trends, revolutions in information and technology, and the emergence of specifically international challenges and agreements are just some of the forces operating to limit the practical influence of states over their domestic affairs.

For social policy, the implications are far-reaching. More than diminishing traditional notions of sovereignty, global trends are encouraging a real convergence in the public policy problems and options faced by countries in the North and South. From the perspective of development policy research, this means that there is now more opportunity for shared perspectives, information exchange, and collaborative learning.

Research on social security reform is no exception. In undertaking this cross-regional initiative, ASPR recognizes that the concept and reality of social security have different meanings in different national contexts. In Canada and other OECD nations, social safety nets are relatively sophisticated and diversified, and current preoccupations with reform lie with the shift from established welfarist to “post-Fordist” models. By contrast, the challenges are different in the developing world, where state institutions and formal social security systems have historically been more limited, and where informal and traditional mechanisms of social protection play a more prominent role.

Despite these distinctions, there are growing parallels to be explored. Among the most important issues for investigation concerns the ability of countries in both the North and South to re-define-- in appropriate and sustainable ways-- a new balance between the state, the market, and civil society in ensuring the social security of their populations. This *State of the Art Review* represents a valuable analysis of the current issues in Canada, and a useful contribution to defining a research agenda of international relevance and importance.

Jennifer Moher
ASPR Programme Initiative
IDRC

A State of the Art Review of Income Security Reform in Canada

**Submitted to the
Assessment of Social Policy Reforms (ASPR)
Programme Initiative
International Development Research Centre (IDRC)**

by

**Jane Pulkingham
Sociology and Anthropology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC**

and

**Gordon Ternowetsky
Social Work Program /
Child Welfare Research Centre
University of Northern
British Columbia
Prince George, BC**

1998

Table of Contents

Introduction: Terms of Reference and Organization of the Report	1
Section 1: An Overview of Income Security Reform in Canada	3
1. General Themes in the Retraction of the Canadian Welfare State	3
2. Income Security Reforms: Employment, Universal Programs and the Social Safety Net	7
(i) Employment and Unemployment	7
(ii) Universal Social Programs	9
(iii) Social Safety Net Provisions	13
3. Income Security Reforms in the Broader Context of Social Security Reform	16
Bibliography	18
Section 2: A Review and Typology of Current Research	24
1. The Typology	24
Figure 1: Key Research Areas	26
[A] Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Change	27
CHST and Social Assistance	27
(I) Current Research	27
1. Introduction	27
2. Changes to Provincial Income Assistance Programs	27
3. National Standards	32
4. Human Rights	35
Linkages	35
5. Tracking of former income assistance recipients. Where are they now? ..	36
6. The CHST and Disability Incomes	37
7.1. Impacts on the Third and Informal Sectors	38
7.2. Differential Impact - Non-Profit Community Organizations	38
(i) Impact of reductions in social assistance and increased requirements for eligibility on food bank usage	39
7.3. Differential Impact - Support Network of Friends and Families	41
7.4. Differential Impact - Women	42
Linkages	43

(II) Gaps in Research Knowledge	43
Bibliography	46
Child Poverty, The CHST and Child Benefits: The Canada Child Tax Benefit and the National Child Benefit	50
(I) Current Research	50
1. Introduction	50
2. The Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit	51
(i) What are the implications of targeting child benefits to families with a parent or parents in the workforce?	52
Linkages: The CCTB/NCB as Labour Market Policy: Links to Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare	55
Linkages: An integrated Child Benefit as a Policy Alternative	55
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	55
Bibliography	56
Employment Insurance	57
(I) Current Research	58
1. Introduction	58
2.1. The new Employment Insurance Act	58
(i) Regarding unemployment income benefits, the new system	59
(ii) "Employment benefits"	59
2.2. Commentary/critique of Employment Insurance unemployment income benefits	60
(i) Moving closer to a "true" insurance program	60
(ii) Extending coverage to part-timers: "counting every hour"	61
(iii) "Frequent claimants," the "intensity rule" and differential clawback	62
(iv) The "Family Supplement"	62
(v) Cuts in coverage	64
(vi) Employment Insurance Income Benefits: Gender Impact	64
What are the gender effects of the income benefits of Bill C-12?	64
(a) Impact on women	64
(b) Impact on men	65
(c) Shifting the basis of citizenship entitlements for women	67
Linkages	67

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	68
Bibliography	70
Pension Reform and the Retirement Income System	74
(I) Current Research	74
1. Introduction	74
2. Limiting the rising costs of public pensions	74
3.1. The Seniors Benefit	77
3.2. Commentary/critique of the Seniors Benefit	77
(i) Narrowing the form of citizenship-based entitlement	77
(ii) Family income testing	77
(iii) Tax-back rates	78
(iv) The Seniors Benefit -- protecting or marginalizing Canada's elderly?	79
4.1. The Canada/Quebec Pension Plan	79
4.2. Commentary/critique of changes to the CPP through Bill C-2	80
(i) Social policy reform by stealth -- freezing the Years Basic Exemption	80
(ii) The move from a pay-as-you-go system to partial funding and the Investment Fund	81
(iii) Differential impact on women	81
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	82
Bibliography	84
[B] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment	
Incentives	87
Job Creation and Training	87
(I) Current Research	87
1. Introduction	87
2. Unemployment and the Jobs Crisis	87
(i) The individualization of Risk	87
3. Job Creation	89
(i) Enhancing labour market flexibility	89
(ii) Tax cuts	89
(iii) Earnings supplements and employment subsidies	90
4. Job Training	90

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	92
Bibliography	94
Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare	95
(I) Current Research	95
1. Introduction	95
2. Workfare/Trainfare and Welfare to Work	95
3. Provincial Workfare/Trainfare Programs	97
4. Critical Issues regarding workfare	99
5. The Self-Sufficiency Project	102
Linkages	103
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	104
Bibliography	105
[C] Policy Alternatives	109
The Social Economy and Social Union: Shifting Responsibilities of the State and the Third Sector	109
(I) Current Research	109
1. Introduction	109
2.1. The Social Economy	110
2.2. Social Capital	111
2.2.1. Social Partnerships	112
2.2.2. Building Community Capacity	112
2.2.3. Resilience and Interconnections	113
2.2.4. Social Cohesion	113
2.3. Creating a Community- Centred "Welfare Society"	114
2.4. Devolution as fragmentation or renewal? The relationship of the social economy to formal government social programs and income redistribution	115
3.1. The Social Union	118
3.2. A National Social Infrastructure Investment Strategy	120
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	120
Bibliography	123

An Integrated Child Benefit as a Policy Alternative	128
(I) Current Research	128
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	129
Bibliography	131
 Unpaid Caregiving Work	 132
(I) Current Research	132
Linkages	133
(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge	133
Bibliography	135
 [D] Recommendations for Future Research	 136

Appendix

- Questionnaire
- Review of Canadian Institutions Involved in Income Security Research

INTRODUCTION:

Terms of Reference and Organization of Report

Introduction: Terms of Reference and Organization of the Report.

There are three major objectives in this “state of the art review” of income security reforms in Canada. The first is to “map out the main substantive and conceptual issues relevant to income security reform in Canada since 1996.” Second, this study critically reviews “the current nature and state of research on income security reform in Canada.” The third purpose is to develop a profile of “key actors and institutions” that are involved in research on income security reforms in this country. This profile, which provides a statement of the focus and activities of these groups, as well as a list of their salient publications related to income security reform, is included in the appendix to this report.

To facilitate these objectives this report is organized into the following three sections: 1) *An Overview of Income Security Reform in Canada*; 2) *A Review and Typology of Current Research*; and 3) *A Review of Canadian Institutions Involved in Income Security Research*. Under the umbrella of these broad headings, a number of specific areas and issues are further developed and examined. These are detailed further in the overview of the three major sections of the report presented below.

Section 1. An Overview of Income Security Reform in Canada. A major concern in this introductory section is to describe some of the historical changes to income security that coincide with the retraction of the Keynesian welfare state in Canada. It begins with a commentary on major themes and issues regarding the changing nature of the Canadian Welfare State (CWS). This discussion examines revised ideological assumptions and principles underpinning social security policy in this country; the changing roles of the state and non-state groups; changing notions of entitlement; and the challenges for income security that arise from the shifting of state responsibilities to the non-state, third sector.

Second, this section traces income security reforms from the early 1980s up to, and including, the post 1996 era. In 1996 income security programs in this country were fundamentally altered with the introduction of the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST), new Employment Insurance (EI) legislation and impending changes to the retirement income system. The reforms to income security presented in this section are considered within the framework of changes to the “first and second lines of defense” that have been used to describe welfare state developments in Canada in the post-war period (Mishra, 1990). The “first line of defense” consists of coverage for the unemployed, social insurance and universal programs geared to maintaining *national minimum standards*. The second line of defense involves income support mechanisms for protecting the *basic needs and living standards of the poor and most vulnerable*.

A final concern of this introductory section is to “situate income security in the broader context of social security reform” that is taking place in Canada. The discussion briefly comments on

the reasons for focusing on income security reforms rather than the wider range of reforms that fall under the broader area of social security. This section concludes with a bibliography of the references cited in Section 1.

Section 2. A Review and Typology of Current Research. This part of the paper critically reviews "the current nature and state of research on income security in Canada." A "typology" that provides a framework for understanding the boundaries, emerging issues, themes and the changing roles and functions of state and third-sector organizations that are identified in this current research, is presented in this section. This "typology" consists of three key areas or streams of research on income security reforms in Canada. These are: [A] Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Changes; [B] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives; and [C] Policy Alternatives.

Each of these key research areas is reviewed and the research that falls within these areas is presented. The discussion also comments on gaps in knowledge and outstanding research issues regarding the key research streams outlined in the typology. A bibliography on current Canadian research on income security related to each area also is provided. This section ends with a discussion of recommendations for future research.

The final, third part of this report, included in an extensive appendix, consists of ***A Review of Canadian Institutions Involved in Income Security Research.*** A selected review, this section divides the key actors and institutions undertaking research on income security reform into the following four sectors. 1) Non-University Research Institutes and Foundations; 2) Non-Government Organizations; 3) University and Academic Researchers; and 4) Governments.

SECTION 1:

An Overview of Income Security Reform in Canada

Section 1: An Overview of Income Security Reform in Canada.

1. General Themes in the Retraction of the Canadian Welfare State.

- *economic insecurity and retrenchment*

The provision of security “forms the traditional heart” of Canada’s welfare state (HRDC 1994a:25). Today, this emphasis is particularly apt given that economic insecurity is widespread and increasingly common. Despite the strong levels of economic growth currently witnessed in Canada, unemployment remains at historically high levels, underemployment in its various forms continues to rise and poverty impacts an increasing number of Canadian families and children. There also is a marked increase in the participation of women in the labour market (whose wages are around two thirds of those earned by men), and a growth in contingent, non-standard, low paying jobs that afford few, if any, benefits. The persistence of high unemployment in conjunction with the growth of low wages, insecure employment and increasing economic marginality reinforces the demand and pressure for government assistance.

In the face of these growing economic uncertainties we are experiencing, however, a winding down and retreat in the provision and access to state welfare in this country. A number of descriptors have been used to depict this withdrawal. Phrases like restructuring, remaking, reweaving, retrenching and dismantling point to both an “erosion,” and what others label as a “demolition” of Canada’s welfare state (Brodie 1995; McBride and Shields 1993: 66, 67; Mishra 1990; Mullaly 1993; Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1996; ECEJ 1993). While there is some debate concerning the extent to which Canada’s welfare state has been dismantled (eroded or demolished), there is general agreement as to why this took place in a period of growing demand.

- *neoliberalism and the rejection of Keynesianism*

As in other western economies, the factors leading to the restructuring of welfare provisions in Canada are both material and ideological (Mishra 1990). The recession of the early 1980s, which followed the oil shock of the 1970s, resulted in high unemployment and inflation, and a growing demand for state assistance. These had the effect of discrediting conventional Keynesian solutions for managing the economy. On one front “confidence in the state’s ability to manage a mixed economy” collapsed (Mishra 1984:190). This collapse, in turn, opened the way for theories of the right which, in addition to their rejection of Keynesianism, championed policies to limit the scope of the state and reassert market forces. As pointed out by Johnson, McBride and Smith (1994:4) a variety of labels including the “new right”, “neoconservatism” and “neoliberalism” are used to describe the approach to governance that has dominated economic and political thought in Canada and other western economies since the early 1980s.

Throughout this report we use mainly the term neoliberalism.

- *market distribution (efficiency) vs. redistribution (equity)*

The main ideological thrust of neoliberalism is the primacy of the market for distributing goods and services and regulating human activity. It is a philosophy that aims to foster circumstances that promote private sector profits and economic growth. The guiding assumption is that a healthy market will benefit everyone. In line with this, the presumption is that profits will be reinvested, wealth and jobs will be created, which in turn will spur further economic growth, investment and job creation. Once again, according to neoliberalism, the problem with the welfare state is that it imposes collectivism, undermines individualism and prevents the market from working efficiently. For example, the burden of taxation required to fund the welfare state creates "market disincentives" (see Offe 1981). Money that would normally be invested in productive capacity and enterprise is channeled into unproductive, welfare state activities. A second set of disincentives, it is argued, stem from the protection provided through state benefits such as income assistance and unemployment insurance. The neoliberal objection is that the guarantees offered through these entitlements keep people from working as hard or as productively as they would had they not had access to this protection. In other words, these benefits "insulate" workers, preventing markets from functioning efficiently.

- *privatization and deregulation*

These prescriptions were given political expression in Canada with the election of the Mulroney conservatives in the early 1980s. During their tenure, the conservatives set in motion economic and social policies that reinforced the primacy of the private market. Many of these ideas and policies were later adopted and consolidated by the Chrétien Liberals in the 1990s. This convergence is demonstrated in economic and social policies that have focused on controlling debts and deficits, restraining spending, curbing the influence and scope of government, privatizing public companies, and the remaking of social policies that it is argued, push up deficits, "produce labour market disincentives and, in today's global market, impair Canada's international competitiveness" (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1996:6).

- *downsizing government, downloading responsibilities*

The spread of neoliberalism in Canada since the early 1980s has altered the provision and meaning of security provided by Canada's welfare state. The neoliberal prescription of a limited state role in the provision of welfare has led to a drop in federal spending as well as legislative changes where the responsibilities of the central government are being off-loaded to the provinces and other jurisdictions. For example, the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) that is described later in this chapter, permits the federal government to redefine and reduce its role and responsibility for the collective well-being of those that live and work in this country. The CHST means the withdrawal of legislative requirements for safety net

provisions and the elimination of a variety of mandated services. It also represents (from 1996-97 to 1998-99) a \$7 billion dollar reduction in transfer payments to the provinces and territories for health, education and welfare, and puts social assistance expenditures in direct competition with provincial spending on health and education.

- *fragmentation*

These changes in federal transfers to the provinces accelerate the downloading of social service responsibilities from the provinces to the municipalities. In conjunction with lower income transfers, this offloading ultimately means a patchwork system of income support and services (NAPO 1997). (This is described in detail in Section 2 where the impact of the CHST on growing variations in provincial programs is discussed.)

In a recent analysis, Michael Bach and Marcia Rioux (1996:324-25) argue that this downsizing of the central state fits the neoliberal vision of a reduced role for the state in welfare provision. It represents an unequivocal return to a residual and minimalist welfare state. Recent research in Ontario (SPCMT 1996) supports this assertion. The impact of the decline in formal income provisions puts added pressure on the informal sector of support provided by friends, families and communities, and the delivery of non-income support services and responsibilities of the third sector. Research in Ontario (SPCMT 1996:12, 13) shows, however, that alongside cuts in welfare rates and eligibility, there are also substantial cuts to non-profit community organizations. This Ontario study provides a "picture of the disappearing social service sector" and suggests that increasingly, responsibility for those in need will fall on the informal sector of family, friends and charitable organizations such as food banks.

The extent to which the third and informal sectors can "pick up the slack" stemming from this offloading of responsibilities is, according to the Canada West Foundation, still largely unknown (CWF 1997a). While this shift to localized control is favoured by the Canada West Foundation, it cautions that without sufficient resources and enforceable standards, community organizations will not be able to implement adequate and quality services (CWF 1997b).

The view that income programs (particularly in the context of debts, deficits and the need for fiscal prudence) are too generous and lead to work disincentives has also resulted in a resurfacing of policy priorities emphasizing minimal support and more restrictive eligibility criteria for entitlement to benefits. Bach and Rioux (1996) note that scarce resources require rationing that leads to targeting benefits according to the "worthiness" or "unworthiness" of those seeking help - the distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor.

- *residualism and selectivity*

The social policy changes stemming from these neoliberal priorities have reshaped and redefined the role of the Canadian welfare state (Hess 1992). Since its inception the Canadian

welfare state has been fluid and changing. As it evolved, however, its early residual role gave way to one where it became an integrated "first line of defense" against market contingencies (Guest 1980:2). In the place of its early, targeted, stigmatizing, means tested benefits, the historical evolution of Canada's welfare state is characterized as a "flight from selectivity" to a growing reliance on universal programs (Banting 1985:9). However, the changes initiated and witnessed in the 1980s and now in the 1990s represent a "reformulation" of many of the values and principles that buttressed the expansion of Canada's welfare state (Courchene 1986). The role of the welfare state is once again becoming residual, with benefits that are less generous, discretionary and targeted, with a shift to "active" programs of income support such as workfare. This represents a clear reversal of the welfare state as it has developed in Canada during this century.

- *individualization and feminization of social problems*

In a number of realms, the counterpart of a residualist and non-interventionist state is the obligatory, yet invisible unpaid labour of women. As McDaniel (1993:167) argues, one consequence of this direction in social policy is the "feminization of social problems." Instead of pointing to the structural, political and economic bases of a range of problems, the changing structure of families (those that do not conform to the nuclear heterosexual norm) is blamed. Importantly, culpability is centred on women in families.

Women's family and caring responsibilities are closely and inextricably tied to their opportunities for security (McDaniel 1993:164). At a time when two incomes are necessary to maintain average family incomes and for an increasing number, maintain an income above the poverty line, reduced government funding for social services is placing an even bigger burden on women. As the state retreats (both ideologically and in its direct financing/provisioning role), women are obliged to undertake more unpaid caring work in respect of partners, children, the elderly, infirm, sick and disabled. This work is largely unpaid and therefore remains essentially invisible (Krane 1997; Callahan and Callahan 1997; McGrath 1997).

Accompanying this is a shift in policy focus to poor children "at risk." Despite the efforts of child poverty advocacy groups to construct all poor children as "deserving" (regardless of how their caretakers became poor), practices and policies associated with the neoliberal view further entrench the prevailing tendency to reframe child poverty as child neglect. Once again, this issue is gendered. For example, "bad mothers" are seen to produce "poor children" (McGrath 1997: pp. 25), a particular (improperly constituted) family structure--lone parent mothers--is targeted and its effects are disproportionately felt by poor and First Nations women and children.

The next section considers the impact of these neoliberal priorities on the changing character of Canadian income security programs during the 1980s and 1990s. This question is addressed by evaluating policy and income security reforms in the areas of employment and unemployment,

universality and selectivity, and the maintenance of safety net, anti-poverty measures that focus on minimum standards (Mishra 1990:71).

2. Income Security Reforms: Employment, Universal Programs and the Social Safety Net.

In Mishra's (1990:26) analytic framework comparing social policy regimes and developments, the commitment to full employment and the provision of universal services constitutes the "first line of defense" *for maintaining national, minimum standards*. The second line is safety-net provisions *for protecting the living standards of the poor and most vulnerable*. Regarding the impact of neoconservatism on social policy in Canada during the 1980s, Mishra (1990: 79) suggests that ". . . in the absence of external or internal shock . . . social developments are likely to remain centrist and evolutionary." He recognizes that the dismantling of unemployment policies, universality and safety net provisions have "weakened" the welfare state. In his view, however, these have been piecemeal and the welfare state, after the neoconservative assault of the 1980s, still remains intact.

The analysis presented below suggests that the retrenchments that have taken place since the 1990s have fundamentally altered Canada's welfare state. In the key areas of unemployment policy, universality and safety net provisions the policy momentum initiated by Mulroney has been consolidated by the Chrétien liberal government. There has been a "flight" from universality to selectivity, declining support for collective provisions, a move towards a decentralized welfare state and a fundamental erosion of safety net protections for the most vulnerable.

(i) Employment and Unemployment

Full employment is a pillar of the post World War Two welfare state in most western capitalist societies. Although full employment was never pursued in Canada, there was a policy of high (or near full) employment. During the 1980s and 1990s, even this was abandoned and replaced by anti-inflationary employment policies which redefined full employment. In the 1980s full employment translated in to an unemployment level of 6.5% (Minister of Supply and Services 1985). In the 1990s, the equivalent unemployment rate is 8% (Department of Finance 1994a:20). In today's economy, this means that "full employment" is predicated on the existence of more than 1.2 million unemployed.

- *a working nation; reinforcing the wage labour obligation*

The policy response to unemployment in the 1990s reflects the prevalence of the new neoliberal social policy ideology. Accompanying an increasing preoccupation with the setting of market creating conditions, "active" labour market and employment policies and a retreat from the principle of full, or near full, employment, reforms to unemployment insurance and welfare reinforce the neoliberal concern with reducing public expenditures, program costs and government deficits and debt. More importantly, these reforms buttress the centrality of the wage-labour obligation and point to the emergence of a gender neutral worker-citizen model (Pulkingham 1997, Scott 1996, Brodie 1995, Fraser and Gordon 1994).

In the case of unemployment insurance, reform 1990s-style rests on a rejection of the notion that an intensification of non-standard employment should be met with extended coverage and expanded protection. This stands in sharp contrast to the view prevailing in the early 1970s when UI last underwent significant amendment. At that time changes led to increased coverage and entitlement. Under the Mulroney government, a new phase of UI reform was introduced in 1989/90 (through Bill C-21). Although the trend toward reduced generosity of UI began in the mid- to late-1970s (Green and Riddell 1993:S108; Forget 1986 et al.), unlike previous reforms, this phase is aggressively pursuing the goals of producing "savings" (containing rising public expenditures and reducing the federal deficit) and "active" rather than "passive" income support.

- *privatization*

Privatization of UI is one of the most significant changes introduced with Bill C-21 in the early 1990s. Here the government converted UI financing from a tripartite (employee, employer, government) arrangement, to one financed by employees and employers only. This represents a clear shift from public, collective responsibility to individual responsibility. Privatization of UI is one of the main reasons why Mullaly (1993) suggests that Mishra (1990) underestimates the impact of neoliberal retrenchments on the welfare state. Subsequently, primarily under the Chrétien liberal government, a range of restrictive changes were implemented, including benefit rate reductions, the imposition of more strict claimant reporting and entrance requirements, penalizing leavers ("voluntary" or through "misconduct") through longer periods of disqualification, and reductions in the duration of claims (entitlement rules) (Employment and Immigration Canada 1994). These changes, introduced piecemeal over a number of years, culminated in the implementation of a new Employment Insurance (EI) system (Bill C-12, July 1996) which replaced the Unemployment Insurance Act and the National Training Act.

- *restructuring eligibility and entitlements*

The new EI system represents an intensification of efforts already begun in this phase. In particular, there are two key issues--entitlement and coverage--that need to be considered.

Importantly, the new EI system will accelerate further the decline in entitlement while it expands coverage. Although UI began as a limited and restricted program, since its inception coverage expanded gradually (HRDC 1996: Part A, Section 2, Page 6). EI will increase this to 97% of the labour force through the inclusion of all part-time workers. But increased coverage and entitlement are distinct issues. Increased coverage is meaningless unless the corollary, entitlement, is also enhanced. While EI will increase coverage, it also imposes more restrictive qualifying rules and eligibility requirements and therefore curtails entitlements. This will accelerate the precipitous decline in the ratio of beneficiaries to unemployed persons begun in 1990. This ratio has already dropped from 87% in 1990 (Canadian Labour Congress 1995:2) to less than 40% in December 1996 (Statistics Canada 1996).

Despite recognition of the increasing precariousness of stable, full-time employment (HRDC 1994b), UI reform, culminating in the new EI system, is viewed by a number of researchers as a central component of the government's strategy to facilitate market creating conditions pursued through labour market deregulation, reduced wage demands, increased economic insecurity and the discipline of labour (Stanford 1996:137-138, 144; Pulkingham 1997).

(ii) Universal Social Programs

The principle of universality, reflected in a range of services such as primary and secondary education, health care, public pensions and (formerly) taxable cash benefits for families with children (family allowance), "constitutes perhaps the core element of the post-war welfare state" (Mishra 1990:23). In the "post-crisis" era, however, it is much maligned and beleaguered.

- ***the deficit, fiscal restraint and targeting***

The neoliberal critique of universal programs is that they are an inefficient use of resources in two ways. First, because benefits go to rich and poor alike, they are not adequately targeted to those most in need of assistance (the "poor"). Second, at a time when governments are wrestling to pay down deficits and debts, universal programs are unaffordable. Instead, it is argued that scarce public resources should be selective, targeted through income and means-tested benefits, so that only those who truly are the most "needy" receive assistance rather than "wasting" money on those who do not.

- ***social policy by stealth: partial indexation***

The process of dismantling universality began with the conservatives, under Mulroney. Over the course of two successive terms in office, the Progressive Conservatives made four attempts to break with the principle of universality. Although the first attempt (1984) was unsuccessful,

at least in the immediate term, the effect of subsequent forays was more than symbolic (Mishra 1990; Department of Finance 1984). In the second try (1985), the government proposed the partial de-indexation of FA and Old Age Security (OAS), and was successful in accomplishing this with the former. Thus began the era of "social policy by stealth" (Battle and Torjman 1996) where payments increase only by the amount that inflation exceeds three percent. This results in a gradual but certain deterioration in the value of benefits.

- *income testing and benefit claw-backs*

In 1989, the government proceeded with its third and more serious attack--imposition of a claw-back (and partial indexation of the income threshold above which the clawback is applied) on the family allowances of higher-income families. A similar claw-back also was imposed on OAS for higher-income individuals (Hess 1992). Through the benefit claw-back, the government undermined directly the principle of universality by introducing an income-contingent component. In addition, the partial indexation both of the income threshold above which the clawback is applied and increases in the benefit ensured that the proportion of families/individuals eligible for full benefits and the value of these benefits would decline steadily over time.

Despite these developments, some would argue that in the 1980s, the Progressive Conservatives retreated politically from enacting major changes to universal social programs. Attempts to alter them are variously described as a "fizzle" and a "half-hearted attempt to break with the centrist consensus in Canada over social protection" (Mishra 1990: 75). This view is not unanimous. Others (Mullaly 1993; McBride and Shields 1993; Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1996) argue that welfare state retrenchment under the Mulroney government is more consequential than Mishra concedes, reflected in a significant erosion of the principle of universality through the clawback of FA, OAS and other policies, in particular the privatization of unemployment insurance.

Perhaps one can equivocate about the impact of neoliberalism in Canada in the 1980s, but the outcome of the 1990s is unequivocal. The fourth offensive to universality came in 1992 with the abandonment of FA and introduction of the Child Tax Benefit (CTB). With this action, the government made absolutely clear its rejection of the principle of universality and the direction in which previous amendments to FA (and arguably, OAS) were headed.

- *the deserving and undeserving poor: supporting the working poor*

One of the main reasons for implementing the CTB is to better target low income families with children -- a long-standing principle of neoliberalism (Canada 1992; Phipps 1993). In the CTB, family allowances, the Refundable Child Tax Credit and the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit are combined into a single "child tax benefit." Two important points are that there was no new money in this package, and that parents on welfare (the poorest of the poor) and unemployment

insurance receive exactly the same under the new CTB as they did under the previous system, As detailed below, only working parents are eligible for additional benefits from the CTB.

Families with net incomes under \$25,921 get the maximum CTB. After this income threshold, benefit levels are reduced to the point of elimination when income cut-offs are reached for families of different size. The third point is that the income levels at which the CTB is paid are adjusted only when inflation exceeds three percent. Between 1992 when the CTB was first announced and the last 1996 Federal Budget, inflation has remained under three percent. As a result many poor families with nominal increases in income "are being pushed above the income threshold for receiving the child tax benefit" (CCSD 1996a:2). By not indexing the CTB to inflation the federal government cuts out families in need and saves some \$170 million a year in CTB payments -- a clear example of social policy by stealth that disadvantages those for whom the targeted CTB is purportedly designed (CCSD 1996a:2).

A fourth point about the CTB is that any benefit improvements in this targeted system go only to working poor families, although not all of the working poor benefit (NCW 1992). This preferential treatment stems from the principle of "less eligibility" another tenet of neoliberalism that suggests some poor are "deserving," while others are "undeserving." This principle is embodied in the earned income supplement (later renamed the Working Income Supplement (WIS)), a major new initiative of the CTB when it was first introduced in 1992 by the Conservative government (Canada 1992).

- *creating incentives to work*

WIS is targeted to the working poor and is not available to individuals in families with children who are not working, whether or not they are in receipt of EI or social assistance. As suggested in William Low's (1996:191) study of financial work incentives provided to welfare mothers, the WIS is based on the premise that people on welfare do not want to work, and that incentives are needed to prod them into taking work (see also Phipps 1993).

In the 1996 Federal Budget, the principle underlying the WIS was entrenched by the Liberals, with increases from the current \$500 level, to \$750 in 1997 and \$1000 in 1998 (Department of Supply and Service 1996). While it is important to assist low income families with children in the workforce, the WIS is also a "disciplinary" mechanism (McBride and Shields 1993:34) as it disenfranchises families with children that are not in the workforce. This disenfranchisement is taking place at a time when it is increasingly difficult to find paid employment. Not only is it inappropriate to tie child benefits to a work test, but given the persistence of high unemployment, the WIS disregards the structural circumstances confronting individuals and families with children who are in receipt of EI or social assistance.

- *creating incentives to work harder and longer*

An additional issue is that the WIS is a gendered policy. It penalizes many of the working poor, particularly women, who work part-time and receive low or minimum wages. This occurs as the WIS begins to kick in at an annual wage of \$3,750. After \$10,000 the full amount of the supplement is paid up to a threshold of \$20,921. With high unemployment, and the spread of low wage, part time work, income thresholds of \$3,750 and \$10,000 may be too high, in that they exclude workers earning less. For example, in 1992, when this supplement was first announced, the minimum wage for full time, full year work hovered around the \$10,000 level in most provinces (Clark 1995:3). This means that part time workers, many of whom are women with children, would likely be excluded from receiving the full value of the WIS. The WIS not only abandons the poor who are in receipt of EI or social assistance, but it also keeps out the poorest of the working poor. In this respect the CTB fails in its purported intent to better target families with children who are in greatest need.

The Federal Budget of 1997 (Canada 1997a; Canada 1997b) restructured the CTB into the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) as a new program for assisting poor children. The first stage of the CCTB began in July 1997. In this first phase it is based on enriching the Working Income Supplement (WIS) component of the existing Child Tax Benefit (CTB). In the second phase the basic Child Tax Benefit and the enriched WIS from stage 1 are combined to form the new Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) or what is now called The National Child Benefit (NCB) (Canada 1997c). The implications of this are discussed in more detail later in Section 2 which examines current research regarding the CCTB/NCB. Briefly, however, the new CCTB/NCB further entrenches the neoliberal view of social policy found in the CTB.

Impending changes to Canada's retirement income system represents a further winding down of universal income programs. Canada's retirement income system consists of three tiers: public pension programs constitute the first two tiers while provisions through the tax system constitute the semi-private third tier. Old Age Security (OAS), the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) together with the Spouse's Allowance (SPA) program form the first tier of the system. Funded through general tax revenues of the federal government, this tier provides a basic guaranteed annual income to seniors and some near-seniors. Although considered to be primarily an anti-poverty program, the OAS plays an important role in replacing a portion of pre-retirement income, particularly for women and one earner couples (Townson 1997:10). The Canada/Quebec Pension Plans (C/QPP) form the second tier which is an earnings income-replacement program paid to workers, their dependents and surviving spouses upon retirement or disability. Tax-assisted private savings in Registered Pension Plans (RPPs) and Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs) form the third tier.

- *the disappearance of universality and horizontal equity*

Although the conservatives under Mulroney were successful (ultimately) in effecting the

demise of universality through the benefit clawback of OAS introduced in 1989, the Liberals are presiding over a series of radical changes which are more far reaching. These include the formal end of the universality of OAS. The first step in this process entailed the introduction of income testing of OAS in 1996. Instead of a clawback through the income tax system of benefits paid out to all seniors, OAS is no longer paid out to all seniors. Now, only benefits net of the clawback are paid out. The second change is the eventual elimination of OAS in the first years of the next century and implementation of the Seniors Benefit. This benefit represents the disappearance of horizontal equity in an elderly benefit system (the OAS) that was premised on the value that all seniors regardless of their income have a right to income support as seniors. In adopting an explicit selective approach focusing on vertical equity, the new Benefit also reduces the program's constituency for near-seniors and future generations of seniors.

(iii) Social Safety Net Provisions

The second line of defense is geared to provide minimum income and services to the poor and most economically disadvantaged. Reforms of the 1980s to the mid-1990s weakened these. But, the introduction of the CHST altered fundamentally the centrist character of the welfare state in Canada.

- ***diminished coverage***

The impact of the CHST can best be understood by looking at the kind of coverage that is lost with the elimination of CAP. The first point is that the termination of CAP represents the end of federal legislation that specifically earmarks safety net provisions for the poor and vulnerable. Under CAP approximately two-thirds of federal transfers went to "welfare assistance" and the remainder to "welfare services." The former involves cost shared public (welfare) assistance dollars and the latter, cost shared services that include subsidized day care to help poor parents enter the workforce, rehabilitative services, counseling and child welfare. The limitations of CAP notwithstanding, its demise in 1996 represents the end of legally mandated services designed to "help lessen, remove or prevent the causes and effect of poverty, child neglect and dependence on public assistance" (Canada, 1985:1). A major piece of Canadian legislation, geared to prevent, rehabilitate and alleviate the poverty of the most unprotected has been cast aside.

- ***diminished protection***

A second point is that in contrast to CAP, the CHST's ability to protect those dependent on the safety net is deficient. The CHST is a reduced block fund that combines CAP transfers with those that previously were designated for Education and Health, under the umbrella of Established Program Financing (EPF). In its first two years (1996-97 and 1998-98), total

CHST transfers will be some \$7 billion less than they would have been had the Education, Health and CAP transfers remained separate, and at their 1995-96 funding levels (Department of Finance 1995). So there is now less money to deal with health and education and safety net demands that, as we noted above, show no signs of subsiding.

- *increased competition for fewer resources*

A third point is that, as a block fund, the CHST does not designate where final expenditures need to be made (i.e., for education, health or welfare). These decisions are made by the provinces and territories. What the federal government has set up is a situation where dollars that are traditionally spent on the safety net, are now in direct competition with the spending needs of health and education. If we compare the political clout of the health and education sectors with that of welfare, there are grounds for assuming that welfare dollars will be further squeezed as the competition for scarce resources heats up (CCSD 1996b:2).

- *demise of counter cyclical supports*

A fourth point is that under CAP, provinces had a financial mechanism for responding to growing need as one-half of their additional allocations could be recouped through the 50-50 cost sharing mechanism of CAP.¹ The CHST, in contrast, is not only a reduced fund, but the level of dollars transferred are fixed and provinces, in both good and bad economic times, need to make do with their fixed annual allotment. What this ensures is that in periods of economic decline, there will be fewer federal dollars and therefore less money in total, to respond to the growing need for income and related safety net supports.

- *loss of national standards*

A fifth point relates to national, minimum standards. Under CAP safety net expenditures were cost shared by the federal government only if the provinces and territories complied with certain conditions. These included providing assistance to all people judged in need; ensuring benefits levels meet basic needs; not imposing a work requirement as a condition of assistance; setting up an appeal procedure for individuals to challenge welfare decisions; and guaranteeing that residency would not be a requirement of assistance (NCW 1995b; CCSD 1996b:1). Under the CHST only the last condition remains, but as recently witnessed in British Columbia, there are ways to circumvent this and impose a residency requirement as a condition of assistance.

¹ In 1990 this 50-50 formula changed for the richest three provinces, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. After 1990 a cap on annual CAP transfers was set at 5% increases for these provinces. This had the effect of substantially reducing the federal share of welfare expenditures made by these provinces.

When the CHST was first announced these kinds of setbacks were foreshadowed and it was predicted that the elimination of the right to assistance "opens the way for jurisdictions to provide little or no assistance to those in need" (CCSD 1996b:2).

- *devolution and fragmentation*

A further point (as discussed above) is that as an instrument of social policy, the CHST constitutes the legislative framework for the devolution of most federal, safety net powers to the provinces. It is the backdrop for a decentralized welfare state where the role of the federal government in terms of setting and enforcing national standards, services and priorities is clearly curtailed (Pawley 1996). CAP provided the legislation and "fiscal carrots" to induce provinces to develop and mount "services for child protection . . . family counseling, rape crises centres, shelters for women and subsidized day care" (CCSD 1996c:5). Over time, depending on the circumstances and political whim of different provinces, these services can now easily disappear. They are no longer mandated by legislation or directly supported by cost-shared transfers. The same scenario is applicable to welfare assistance as there is no longer a compulsion to provide assistance to those in need. In 1994 some 3.1 million Canadians received social assistance. Another 1.1 million received help through CAP funded services. Out of these the largest group of recipients were women and children (NCW 1995a:4,5). Women, as employees and service users/recipients/clients, will be disproportionately impacted by these changes. In particular, low income women will fare worst because they are most likely to rely on social assistance and the many social services that were previously CAP-funded, such as day care subsidies, home care, women's shelters, rape crisis centres and legal aid. As levels of basic protection continue to decline, we can anticipate that those formerly receiving basic assistance from the state will turn, in increasing numbers, to foodbanks and other non-government agencies for support. A more privatized, residual, neoliberal welfare state seems inevitable as communities, charitable organizations, families and women take on responsibilities formerly assumed by the state (Bach and Rioux 1996).

The CHST is funded through tax points, transferred from the federal government to the provinces, and a cash transfer. The size of this cash component is declining (Battle and Torjman 1996). The concern of the social policy community is that as the cash component declines, so does Ottawa's ability to enforce adherence to the one remaining residency requirement of the CHST (CCSD 1996c). In the February 1996 Federal Budget a new five year cash floor of \$11.1 billion for CHST funding was put in place (Department of Finance 1996b). This new cash floor gives Ottawa the leverage for some provincial compliance, at least until 2003-04. However, by the time this cash floor takes effect (1999-2000), the cash transfers lost to the province since the start of the CHST will reach \$7.4 billion. The size of this reduction, in conjunction with the elimination of all but the residency requirement "will likely translate into widespread cuts to programs and supports directed at the most vulnerable Canadians" (Birchall 1996:1). The safety net has been thrown wide open and Ottawa, in its effort to download its financial obligations, is surrendering its role and power to sustain a national

system of safety net provisions. The funding levels and limited conditions of the CHST have already set in motion a range of disparate measures of last resort that differ from province to province. The imposition of mandatory workfare, the reduction in benefit levels for employable people, and more stringent eligibility requirements that screen people out of benefits when they have few financial resources, are examples of the different measures used by provinces to lower their caseloads. (Current research regarding the effect of the CHST on the income security of Canadians is discussed in greater detail in Section 2. In particular see [A] *Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Changes.*)

3. Income Security Reforms in the Broader Context of Social Security Reform.

Income security represents one facet of Canada's social security system. Other components include education, health, social housing and a myriad of services provided by all levels of government as well as the non-government sector. In the last two decades there have been changes in all of these areas of Canada's system of social security. However, the introduction of the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) in 1996 represented a "historical retreat" (Greenspon 1995) in the way the federal government funds and oversees major elements of Canada's social security system. As noted above, the CHST incorporates funding for health, education as well as income support and services into one block fund. This new funding arrangement, as discussed previously, has major implications regarding the administration and delivery of provincial/territorial income security programs. Not only are the federal dollar transfers to the provinces/territories for income assistance programs reduced, but most of the conditions attached to the receipt of these transfers are eliminated.

The CHST results in lower levels of funding for health and education as well as provincial welfare programs. In terms of health funding, however, the standards of the Canada Health Act (CHA) continue to ensure that provinces and territories provide services that are publicly administered, universal, comprehensive, accessible and portable. The federal government still has the legal power to ensure compliance with these standards as a condition for providing health dollars to the provinces and territories. With regards to federal funding for provincial post secondary education, transfers to the provinces before the CHST did not involve conditions in terms of how these funds were spent. In terms of the funding of post-secondary education, the CHST continues this established practice.

Compared to health and education funding, the above suggests that the CHST may have a more immediate impact on income assistance programs than it does for the education and health components of Canada's social security system. While this new funding formulae will affect all aspects of Canada's system of social security, its impact will be clearer in terms of income security reforms and the research questions these reforms raise for people and organizations working with individuals that are dependent on government income support. This is one of the

major reasons for restricting this study to a review of the issues, gaps in knowledge and research priorities that arise from reforms to income security. Another is that the five month time frame of this study does not permit a careful examination of the range of reforms to social security that are taking place in Canada. Assuming that the results of this analysis of income security reforms can be generalized to other social security domains, it is anticipated that the findings of this study will have a bearing on the wider spectrum of social security reforms taking place in this country.

Bibliography

Bach, M. and M. Rioux. 1996. "Social Policy, Devolution and Disability: Back to Notions of the Worthy Poor." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Baker, M. 1997. "Advocacy, Political Alliances and the Implementation of Family Policies." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Banting, K. 1985. "Universality and the Development of the Welfare State." In A. Green and N. Olewiler (eds.), *Report of the Forum on Universality and Social Policies in the 1990s*. Kingston: Queen's University Press.

Battle, K. and S. Torjman. 1996. "Desperately Seeking Substance: A Commentary on the Social Security Review." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Birchall, C. 1996. "Open Letter to Paul Martin re: Budget 1996" CCSD Brief. Ottawa: CCSD.

Brodie, J. 1995. *Politics on the Margins: Restructuring and the Canadian Women's Movement*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Callahan, M. and K. Callahan. 1997. "Victims and Villains: Scandals, The Press and Policy Making in Child Welfare." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Canada. 1985. *Notes on Welfare Services Under the Canada Assistance Plan*. Ottawa: Minister of National Health and Welfare.

Canada. 1992. *The Child Benefit. A White Paper on Canada's New Integrated Child Tax Benefit*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1997a. *Towards a National Child Benefit System*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997b. *Working Together Towards a National Child Benefit*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997c. *The National Child Benefit: Building a Better Future for Canadian Children*. Ottawa: Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Social Services.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997a. *Making Ends Meet. Income Support in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997b. *Issues and Options for Change: Social Services for the 21st Century*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). 1996a. "Children and the 1996 Federal Budget." *Backgrounder*. Ottawa: CCSD.

_____. 1996b. "Maintaining a National Social Safety Net: Recommendations on the Canada Health and Social Transfer." *Position Statement*. Ottawa: CCSD.

_____. 1996c. *Social Policy Beyond the Budget*. Ottawa: CCSD.

Canadian Labour Congress. 1995. "Federal Budget 1995: Canadian Labour Congress Analysis." Unpublished Brief. Feb. 27.

Clark, C. 1995. "Work and Welfare: Looking at Both Sides of the Equation." *Perception*, 19(1):21-24.

Courchene, T. 1986. *Social Policy in the 1990s: Agenda for Reform*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

_____. 1994. *Social Canada in the Millennium*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

_____. 1984. *A New Direction for Canada: An Agenda for Economic Renewal*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Department of Finance. 1984. *A New Direction for Canada: An Agenda for Economic Renewal*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1994a. *Agenda: Jobs and Growth. A New Framework for Economic Policy*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1994b. *Agenda, Jobs and Growth. Creating a Health Fiscal Climate*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1995. *Budget Speech*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1996a. "Government Proposes New Seniors Benefit." *News Release*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1996b. *Canada Health and Social Transfer: Backgrounder*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1996c. *Canada Health and Social Transfer: New Five Year Funding Arrangement*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

Department of Supply and Services. 1996. *The 1996 Federal Budget*. Ottawa: Supply and Services.

Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice (ECEJ). 1993. *Reweaving Canada's Social Programs: From Shredded Safety Net to Social Solidarity*. Toronto: Our Times.

Employment and Immigration Canada. 1994. *Unemployment Insurance Account: Forecasts from 1994 to 1998*. Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.

Forget, C. et al. 1986. *Commission of Inquiry on Unemployment Insurance*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Fraser, N. and L. Gordon. 1994. "A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U. S. Welfare State." *Signs* 19 (21): 309-36.

Green and Riddell. 1993. "The Economic Effects of Unemployment Insurance in Canada: An Empirical Analysis of UI Disentitlement." *Journal of Labour Economics* 11(1)(2):S96-S147.

Greenspon, E. 1995. "Social Cuts Deep: Old Age Review Next." *Globe and Mail*. February 28: A1, A8.

Guest, D. 1980. *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada*. Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press.

Hess, M. 1992. *The Canadian Fact Book on Income Security Programs*. Ottawa: CCSD.

Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). 1994a. *Agenda: Jobs and Growth: Improving Social Security in Canada*. Ottawa: Supply and Services.

_____. 1994b. *Guaranteed Annual Income: A Supplementary Paper*. Ottawa: Supply and Services.

_____. 1996. *Employment Insurance: Impacts of Reform*. Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Human Resources Development. January 23. Ottawa: HRDC.

Johnson, A., S. McBride and P. Smith (eds.), 1994. *Continuities and Discontinuities: The Political Economy of Social Welfare and Labour Market Policy in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Krane, J. 1997. "Least Distributive and Intrusive Course of Action . . . For Whom? Insights from Feminist Analysis of Practice in Cases of Child Sexual Abuse." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Low, W. 1996. "Wide of the Mark: Using "Targeting" and Work Incentives to Direct Social Assistance to Single Parents." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Books.

McBride, S. and P. Shields. 1993. *Dismantling a Nation: Canada and the New World Order*. Halifax: Fernwood.

McDaniel, S. A. 1993. "Where the Contradictions Meet: Women and Family Security in Canada in the 1990s." In D. Ross et al. (eds.), *Family Security in Insecure Times. National Forum on Family Security*. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development. of Toronto.

McGrath, S. 1997. "Child Poverty Advocacy and the Politics of Influence." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Minister of Supply and Services. 1985. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada*. Volume 2. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Mishra, R. 1990. *The Welfare State in Capitalist Society: Policies of Retrenchment and Maintenance in Europe, North America and Australia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

_____. 1984. *The Welfare State in Crisis: Social Thought and Social Change*. Great Britain: Wheatsheaf Books.

Mullaly, R. 1993. *Structural Social Work: Ideology, Theory and Practice*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO). 1997. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: An Update - March 21, 1997." Ottawa:

NAPO.

National Council of Welfare. 1994a. *A Blueprint for Social Security Reform*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

_____. 1995a *Poverty Profile 1993*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1995b *The 1995 Budget and Block Funding*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services

_____. 1996. *Poverty Profile 1994*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Offe, C. 1981. "Some Contradictions of the Modern Welfare State." paper presented at the *Organization Economy Society: Prospects for the 1980s*. Brisbane: University of Queensland. July.

Pawley, H. 1996. "Devolution Favoured by BCNI Would Wreck Canada." Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, *Monitor*, 3(5):1,8.

Phipps, S. A. 1993. "International Perspectives on Income Support for Families with Children." Paper presented at Canadian Employment Research Forum Workshop on Income Support. Ottawa, September.

Pulkingham, J. 1995. "Investigating the Financial Circumstances of Separated and Divorced Parents: Implications for Family Law Reform." *Canadian Public Policy* 21(1):1-19.

Pulkingham, J. 1996. "Remaking the Social Divisions of Welfare: Gender, 'Dependency,' and UI Reform." Unpublished Paper.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1996. "The Changing Landscape of Social Policy and the Canadian Welfare State." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT). 1996. "Ontario's Welfare Rate Cuts: An Anniversary Report." The Ontario Social Safety NetWork. Toronto: SPCMT (<http://www.worldchat.com/public/tab/owrc1/htm>).

Scott, K. 1996. "Dilemma of Liberal Citizenship: Women and Social Assistance Reform in the 1990s." *Studies in Political Economy* 50(Summer):7-36.

Stanford, J. 1996. "Discipline, Insecurity and Productivity: The Economics Behind Labour Market "Flexibility"." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social*

Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s. Halifax: Fernwood.

_____. 1996. *Unemployment Insurance Monthly Statistics.* Statistics Canada. Labour Division.

Townson, M. 1995. *Reforming the Canada Pension Plan: The Implications for Women.* Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Section 2:

A Review and Typology of Current Research

Section 2: A Review and Typology of Current Research.

This section presents a typology of current research and gaps in knowledge regarding income security reforms in Canada. This typology provides a framework for understanding the boundaries, emerging issues, themes and changing roles and functions of state and third-sector organizations in relation to recent changes in income security in this country. The research examined focuses on studies undertaken in the post 1996, CHST era. Earlier research that has specific implications for income security reforms that have taken place since 1996 is also included in the discussion.

The discussion in this section is organized as follows. First, it reviews the steps used to create the typology presented in this report. Second, the broad characteristics of the typology are detailed in terms of income security reforms. Third, this section provides a strategic review of the current research that falls within the major research streams and sub-categories that are included in the typology. This overview also includes separate sections on gaps in research knowledge. A bibliography of the current research examined in this review is presented following the discussion of each of the major research streams included in the typology.

1. The Typology.

Two steps were used to develop the typology: an analysis of a questionnaire and a review of current research on income security in Canada. In step 1, a questionnaire on income security reforms was completed by 23 individuals and representatives from organizations who have extensive experience in the areas of income security research, practice and policy in this country. Their responses pointed to priority issues for income security research, gaps in knowledge and a listing of research regarding income security reforms that they are currently undertaking. In step 2, an analysis of recent Canadian research on income security was undertaken.

Three key research areas, or streams of research, were constructed from the responses to the questionnaire and an analysis of current research on income security. These three streams of research are:

Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Changes.

Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives.

Policy Alternatives.

Within these broad research streams are a number of sub-categories that depict specific areas of research that fall within each of these key research streams. These are presented in Figure 1 which diagrams the typology developed for this report -- Income Security Reform: Key Research Areas.

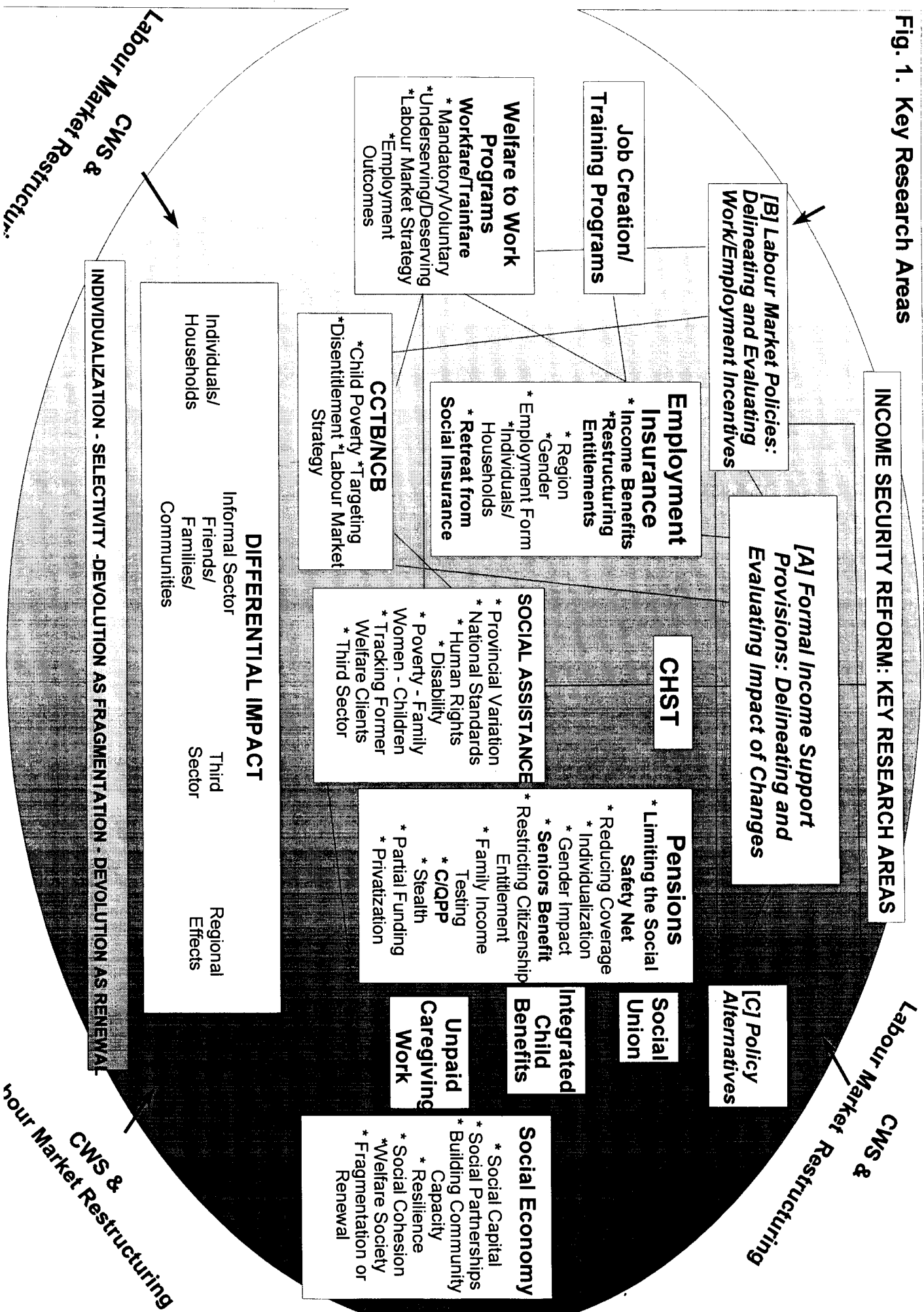
This typology consists of five parts. The first component, represented by the shaded area outside the oval, refers to the context of labour market and welfare state restructuring that shapes specific reforms in the areas of income security. Labour market restructuring is reflected in the persistence of high levels of unemployment, underemployment, the growth of low wage labour, non-standard employment and economic vulnerability that precipitates an increase in demand for state intervention. The restructuring of the CWS points to a resurgence of residual social policy. This is reflected in a winding down or retraction of the welfare state in the context of high and growing demand. What this means for this study on income security reforms, is that specific policies, programs and outcomes cited for research, need to be considered in an overall context of growing economic insecurity on the one hand, and on the other hand, the ideological thrust of neoliberalism where the role and scope of state welfare is being curtailed.

The second part of the typology is the 'key research areas' or streams of research regarding income security reform. These key areas, contained within the oval, indicate that the priorities for research fall into the broad areas of 'Formal Income Support Provisions,' 'Labour Market Policies,' and 'Policy Alternatives.' Flowing from these are the research sub-categories that fall under the key research streams. The lines in the diagram depict the linkages between the different research sub-categories and the major research streams. The Differential Impact box denotes the influence of the above changes on individuals and households, the informal and third sectors and the way these are experienced regionally.

The final component of this typology is reflected in the shading within the oval that darkens from left to right. This is used to order the sub-categories and the key research areas on a continuum. There are several aspects of this continuum. First, it illustrates the movement from individual to more collective policy related research. Second, it incorporates two components of devolution: (i) the off-loading of income security responsibilities from federal auspices to other jurisdictions; (ii) the second aspect of devolution, that of renewal, points to a heightened plurality of control over service delivery in a context of continued public provision for collective well-being.

This typology is based on current research as well as gaps in research knowledge. The discussion below provides (I) an overview of the current research, and (II) a description of the research gaps in each of the key research streams: *[A] Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating Impact of Changes; [B] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives; and [C] Policy Alternatives.*

Fig. 1. Key Research Areas



[A] Formal Income Support Provisions: Delineating and Evaluating the Impact of Change.

CHST and Social Assistance.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

In 1996 the federal government replaced the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) with the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST). This results in important changes regarding federal funding of provincial social assistance programs. One is that it eliminates most national standards as requirements for provinces to receive federal funding for provincial social assistance programs. Another is that the CHST ushers in a decline in federal transfers of 25 % or \$7 billion from 1996 to 1998. Reduced transfers to the provinces have led to cutbacks, eligibility changes and other cost saving measures in all of the provinces. These have been made without the need for provinces to ensure they meet national standards imposed by Ottawa as a condition for receiving federal transfers. An outcome of this is a growing patchwork of diverse programs across the nation.

2. Changes to Provincial Income Assistance Programs.

The National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO) (1996, 1997) and the National Council of Welfare (NCW) (1997) provide descriptive data of provincial changes to eligibility requirements, benefit reductions and the growing variations in provincial programs. Some general findings of these reports are as follows:

1. Cuts to basic assistance have been maintained over these two years.
2. There have been no provincial adjustments for changes in the cost of living.
3. Funding for basic needs in emergency situations is being curtailed.
4. This funding is increasingly available as an advance with recoveries made later from basic assistance rates (which causes increased hardship for welfare recipients).
5. Work or training for social assistance is becoming mandatory for employable recipients in many jurisdictions.

6. Increased eligibility requirements are making it more difficult to apply for welfare.
7. People are being disqualified upon application even when they have no resources.
8. People are increasingly being denied support when they quit or are dismissed from a job, and to appeal a wrongful decision in this regard, people have no support while waiting for their appeal to be heard.
9. Changes to policy and legislation are taking place before policy and regulation manuals have been prepared.
10. Without written policy it is difficult to know the rules and whether workers are applying these rules properly. As a result, access to information for recipients and their advocates is increasingly difficult.
11. At the same time, welfare advocates are increasingly needed as social assistance workers experience large case loads, changing regulations and little time to explain what is allowed.
12. Many provinces (as well as the federal government) are dividing the poor into two categories: "the deserving poor" (working poor, children and the disabled) and the "undeserving poor" (adults deemed employable, including parents with increasingly younger children who are in receipt of welfare benefits).
13. Some poor, defined as "undeserving", are increasingly disentitled from benefits or face cuts in benefit levels.
14. The privatization of welfare has begun in Ontario with a contract for a private firm to develop and implement a new vision for delivery of social assistance services. In 1994 New Brunswick signed a similar agreement with the same private firm. This firm is to receive repayment on the basis of the privatizing welfare delivery that is expected to result in savings of up to \$80 million over five years.

Recent research in a number of provinces illustrates the impact on welfare recipients of the decline in funding for provincial income assistance programs introduced with the CHST. In British Columbia, BC Benefits was introduced in January 1996 (BC Benefits 1996). This includes benefit rate reductions to financial support for individuals and couples in childless families that are deemed employable. A number of workfare/trainfare programs (Youth Works, Welfare to Work) were introduced with the condition that receipt of welfare is dependent upon participation in these programs (BC Benefits 1996). Some of the rate changes are listed below.

- Before BC Benefits, youth up to 24 received \$546 per month. BC Benefits reduces this to \$500 per month after the first month of assistance.
- Employable couples without dependents will receive \$811 per month after the first month of assistance. This is reduced from \$903 per month.
- Single employable adults (25-54) have rate reductions of \$46 per month after the first month of assistance. This represents a reduction from \$546 a month to \$500 a month.

Research by the Social Planning and Research Council of BC (SPARC 1997) finds that the low income assistance rates in British Columbia are a form of “legislated poverty.” The study shows that BC Benefits represent 48% of the cost of daily living for a single adult and 64% for a single parent with a five year old child. Similar findings are reported by BC Campaign 2000 (BC Campaign 2000 1997), a coalition of anti-poverty groups organized to raise awareness of child poverty in the province. Using 1995 data, they show a single parent with one child on social assistance has an income shortfall of \$9,313 when their income is compared to Statistics Canada’s Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs). The shortfall for a two parent family with two children is \$15,464. (*This links to the discussion of the Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit (CCTB/NCB) discussed below.*)

With the introduction of BC Benefits in 1996 the Social Planning Council of BC study on *Widening the GAP: A Comparison of the Cost of Daily Living and Income Assistance Rates (BC Benefits) in British Columbia* (SPARC 1997) argues that BC Benefits “turns back the clock” by decreasing assistance rates for singles and couples without children. Other policies introduced with BC Benefits also make life more difficult for those in need. Some examples discussed by SPARC (1997) are policies that:

- eliminate the flat rate earnings exemptions;
- restrict access to training programs; and
- reduce allowable asset levels for single adults and childless couples in terms of qualifying for benefits.

The SPARC study concludes that to reduce dependency on social assistance it is critical that job creation is increased in order to lower the unacceptably high levels of unemployment in the province. Campaign 2000 (1997) a national coalition monitoring child poverty makes the same point. It shows that long term unemployment of parents (over 6 months) affected some 835,000 children in 1995. It also notes the importance of good paying jobs. In Canada, in 1995, there were 433,000 poor children in families where a parent was employed full-time (Campaign 2000 1997:7). As a result of growing unemployment and the lack of good paying jobs the need for welfare has risen dramatically. In March 1995, 1,153,900 children lived in families that relied on social assistance.

Similar findings regarding inadequate social assistance rates, high unemployment and poor

paying jobs are presented by Manning (1997a, 1997b) in a review of social assistance recipients in Regina, Saskatchewan. These studies find that benefit rates in 1996 represent 45% of the Statistics Canada's measure of average required expenditures. Single parents with two children on social assistance receive less than 40% of this poverty benchmark. *(The implications of this are examined in greater detail below in the discussion of social assistance clients and their reliance on the food bank.)*

In 1995 the Ontario government cut welfare allowances by 21.6% and introduced tighter eligibility requirements. An October 1996 study by the Ontario Social Safety NetWork (SPCMT 1996) reports on the impact of welfare rate cuts in Ontario. Several themes emerge from this review of cuts in assistance levels. These are:

1. The cuts have hurt the most vulnerable people in Ontario. Most people affected by the cuts are children, single mothers and people with disabilities.
2. What was already a serious housing problem for people on welfare has become a housing crisis as a result of the benefit reductions.
3. Lower rates and high rental costs have led to a shortfall in money for food. This has led to a hunger epidemic.
4. These cuts have resulted in a further erosion of the mental and physical health of poor people dependent on welfare.
5. The government claimed in making its cuts that people could earn back the difference. This is not the case. This study finds that "[n]o one can 'earn back' the difference in their cheques unless they have a job. Many of the people affected by the cuts can't work anyway, so the exemptions are of no use to them. Even for those who can work, there simply are not enough jobs" (SPCMT 1997:10). Citing studies by the Social Planning Council of Kitchener-Waterloo (1995) and the Toronto Daily Bread Food Bank, the Social Safety NetWork points out that high unemployment limits the ability of people to earn back their earlier benefit levels.
 - Assuming recipients have the skill to fill the vacant jobs, there is one job for every 9 recipients who lost benefits in the Waterloo region (SPCKW 1995).
 - The Toronto Daily Bread Food Bank survey (1996) shows that "while 50% of food bank users had intensified job search efforts after the welfare rate cuts, only 5% had actually found jobs."
6. In conjunction with welfare cuts, other supports in the community are losing

government funding just as they are needed most.

7. The cuts have hurt local economies across Ontario.

Allan Moscovitch's (1997:90) review of social assistance in Ontario finds that benefit reductions, increased eligibility requirements and the imposition of workfare or trainfare as a pre-requisite for income assistance disentitles people and results in a "more punitive, less generous and less supportive" welfare system in Ontario. His analysis shows that *Social Assistance in the New Ontario* has resulted in growing hardships for individuals and families.

A similar conclusion is reached by the Edmonton Social Planning Council (1996) and the Canada West Foundation (1997a) in their analyses of the impact of declining benefits, the imposition of workfare/trainfare and tightened eligibility requirements for income assistance (Income assistance falls under the auspices of the Support for Independence (SFI) program in Alberta.) Like Ontario, these reports note that reduced rates began before the introduction of the CHST. These, however, have stayed the same and have not been adjusted for annual cost of living changes. While welfare rolls declined in Alberta by 57% between 1993 and 1996, this is accompanied by a growing gap between welfare rates and Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-Offs (LICOs). On average welfare benefits are now 34% below the Statistics Canada LICOs, and approximately 1 in 5 recipients of the Edmonton foodbank have been denied assistance and end up with no money whatsoever.

Another outcome of the CHST is that people can be denied assistance when in need. Clearly this is taking place in Alberta, where according to the Edmonton Social Planning Council's analysis (1996:11), welfare, as a program of last resort, "is turning away applicants and cutting off clients who appear to have real and valid financial need."

In a C.D. Howe study, Boessenkool (1997) suggests, however, that the Alberta policies that have reduced welfare caseloads provide a "model for other provinces." He reviews two stages of this reform that have resulted in the substantial fall in caseload numbers (see the C. D. Howe Communiqué prefacing this report).

- The first stage stems from administrative changes in the "culture" of Alberta Family and Social Services. Applicants are now "routinely turned away unless they have exhausted all other sources of support."
- In the second stage, benefits levels were lowered to fall "in line with wages earned by Albertans with low incomes."
- The decline in the welfare caseload is a result of "reducing the new welfare cases In late 1992, over 14,000" new cases joined the welfare rolls. This dropped to 4,000 cases

in 1995.

- Most of those denied access were young, single, employable individuals. The analysis of the Edmonton Social Planning Council indicates, however, that administrative changes also have a profound effect on “single mothers ... children and the working poor” in addition to single, employable men.
- Boessenkool concludes that the “administrative and benefit changes” have resulted in lower caseloads because they reduce barriers to work. (*This is discussed in more detail under Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare discussed in the key research area [A] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives.*)

3. National Standards.

In effect, some people are denied assistance in Alberta. While this process of disentanglement in Alberta began before the implementation of the CHST, this legislation institutionalizes disentanglement across all jurisdictions. This is foreseen in the Canadian Council on Social Development’s response to the 1996 and 1997 Federal Budget (CCSD 1996, CCSD 1997). The 1996 paper is based on a review of national surveys and research, and on a series of roundtable discussions on the CHST that involved some 150 experts. Some of the major concerns and issues as presented by the CCSD are listed below:

1. The CHST fundamentally changes Canada’s social safety net and the role of the federal government in the social policy field.
2. The CHST was legislated in the face of mounting evidence that the social safety net is a critical feature that defines Canadians as a people. The preservation rather than the erosion of the safety net is “expected from governments, particularly the national government.” While the federal government claims it is committed to “strengthening” Canada’s “social union,” the CHST illustrates it is moving in an opposite direction.
3. This is most evident in the loss of national standards that accompany the introduction of the CHST and the elimination of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). Witness the following points raised by the CCSD.
 - With the CHST “previous standards for social assistance based on need, adequacy, no forced work requirement and the right to an appeal have disappeared” (CCSD 1996:1).

- “Eliminating the principle of entitlement opens the way for jurisdictions to provide little or no assistance to those in need”(CCSD 1996:1). The studies by NAPO (1996,1997), the NCW (1977) and the Edmonton Social Planning Council (1997, 1996) indicate that this is occurring in a number of provincial jurisdictions across Canada.
- Dramatic social assistance benefit reductions in some provinces “will put pressure on others in order to avoid an influx of people, thereby precipitating a “race to the bottom.” (CCSD, 1996:2).
- The removal of a right to an appeal of social assistance “diminishes the civil rights of the most vulnerable Canadians, and violates a number of international principles.” (CCSD 1996:2; see also Manning 1997a; Morton 1997).
- While the CCSD is not in favour of forced work (workfare) as a requirement for social assistance, it will “investigate ways for welfare recipients to enter meaningful training and employment” (CCSD, 1996:3). *(This links to the discussion on Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare discussed under the Key Research Area [B] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives.)*

The CHST results in “deep spending cuts, decentralization and downloading of federal responsibilities” that produce a very different Canada. The CHST “greatly diminish(es) the federal government’s ability to ensure that basic national priorities are met, as reflected in national standards, and will leave Canada with a fragmented and weakened social safety net”(CCSD 1997: 5). This same conclusion is also reached in Pulkingham and Ternowetsky’s (1996: 10-12, 1997a:33-37) analyses of the impact of the CHST on social assistance rates, entitlements and the role of the federal government in ensuring national standards. These authors’ analysis of the CHST points out that this legislation leaves “the provinces with a diminished financial capacity and little impetus to consider the delivery of its social programs within the context of national standards” (Pulkingham and Ternowesky 1996:11).

In several papers regarding the CHST, the Caledon Institute of Social Policy reviews the impact on national standards (Torjman and Battle 1995a, 1995b; Torjman 1995). With the block funding of the CHST there are fewer federal dollars and “a reduced federal presence in human services - and a diminished ability to ensure and enforce any meaningful national standards or conditions” (Torjman and Battle 1995a:1). Provinces are now able to develop their own forms of the safety net, and as shown above, this has resulted in fragmentation and a patchwork of different programs across the nation. Devolution and offloading, the elimination of standards, and the reduced capability of the federal government to enforce conditions for

receipt of federal transfers, have resulted in more residual and minimalist programs of last resort for the protection of the poor and most vulnerable. The "second line of defense" for assisting those in need is collapsing as people are being turned away and disentitled from income assistance.

Previously, the federal government could withhold transfers to the provinces for income assistance and social services if they did not comply with meeting national standards in administering welfare. Not only are national standards diminished with the CHST, but the ability of the federal government to enforce the one remaining standard (residence requirements) is curtailed. In this respect the CHST permits the "most profound changes" to an income security system that has evolved incrementally since the 1950s (Torjman and Battle 1995b: 1).

In addition to declining income assistance entitlements, the elimination of CAP means a wide range of services for the poor are no longer cost-shared with the provinces by the federal government. This means that services that benefit the poor and low and modest income groups are in jeopardy. The "services delivered through CAP helped people get off welfare." They "offset child care costs and other work-related expenses." They "represented an investment in children through both child care and child welfare services, and "afforded support to families and protection to children who might otherwise end up on the street" (Torjman 1995a:1). A list of some of the services previously funded through CAP that will, over time, likely disappear in a number of provinces include the following (Torjman 1995a: 1,2):

- services that allow the elderly to live at home by assisting them with their shopping, cooking, cleaning and other household tasks;
- services that help people with disabilities live outside institutions;
- services that assist families in caring for young children while these parents complete their education, participate in a training program, seek employment or go to work;
- services to assist the unemployed enter or re-enter the labour market;
- services that provide protection to children who have been neglected or abused;
- services for women fleeing family violence and abusive relationships;
- services for counseling individuals, couples or families experiencing personal, health related or employment problems.

In its response to the 1997 Federal Budget, the CCSD (1997) places the cuts in welfare assistance initiated by the CHST into the broader context of Canada's new economy. Accompanying these cuts, along with corporate and government downsizing and the persistence of high unemployment and the growth of low wage jobs, there has been an escalating race to the bottom. The CCSD also notes that the growth of unemployment, poverty and increasing reductions in social assistance has particularly affected young families and children. Over "43% of young families now live in poverty ... and one in five children live in poverty - 45 per cent more than in 1989." (CCSD, 1997:1).

4. *Human Rights.*

Analyses of welfare advocates also find that the CHST results in the diminution of basic human rights of the poor in Canada. Citing the United Nations *Declaration on Social Progress and Development* and the *Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* to which Canada is a party, these analyses suggest that Canada is violating principles contained in these agreements (Manning 1997a:1,2). Specifically it violates the statement that nation states “shall aim at the continuous raising of the material ... standards of living ... [through] the elimination of poverty [and] the assurance of a steady improvement in levels of living and of a just and equitable distribution of income” (Article 10 of the UN Declaration of Social Progress and Development). In addition, the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* which Canada signed in agreement with the provinces, recognizes “the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development” (Article 27) (Manning 1997a: 2). In spite of these guarantees, poverty in Canada is growing, more than 20% of Canadian children are poor, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing, and hunger is rampant among poor families and those dependent on government income assistance. The CHST, which reduces funding for welfare and eliminates many national standards and cost-shared services, also diminishes the role of the federal government in ensuring basic rights of people are met. The federal government has in effect implemented legislation which exacerbates impoverishment and reduces its ability to protect the “social and economic rights of Canadians” (Morton 1997:19).

Linkages:

- The impact of the CHST on welfare assistance rates and changes in eligibility is linked directly and indirectly to other sub-categories of research. Some of these linkages are discussed in relation to the differential impact benefit reductions have had on the informal sector of family/friends/communities and non-income support services such as food banks that are part of the Third Sector. This is discussed below and in research stream [C] *Policy Alternatives*. The CHST also has an impact on child and family poverty and has implications for the new CCTB/NCB. This is examined in the discussion on the *Canada Child Tax Benefit and the National Child Benefit*. The discussions on the growth of food banks presented below indicates that the elimination of CAP and the introduction of the CHST has led to a decline in economic and social rights of Canadians dependent on income assistance. In addition, new regulations regarding *Welfare to Work Programs*, and *Workfare/Trainfare* are outcomes of the work tests that are no longer prohibited under CHST transfers to the provinces. This is examined further under [B] *Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives*.

5. Tracking of Former Income Assistance Recipients. Where are They Now?

Ontario and Alberta initiated social assistance reforms that made it more difficult for people to qualify for and/or remain on welfare. These reforms were initiated prior to 1996 but remain intact today. In Ontario the caseload fell from 678,000 to 602,000 between June 1995 and July 1996. According to the Ontario Social Safety NetWork (SPCMT 1996:14) the "actual number of people on welfare at any given time fell by over 130,000." In Alberta the caseload decreased from 94,087 in March 1995 to 39,506 cases in April 1997. What happened to those leaving welfare? Where are they now? (CWF 1997a)

The National Council of Welfare's (NCW) (1997) review of Ontario research on former welfare clients documents the following destinations of former income assistance clients. Studies by local welfare offices in Ottawa and Toronto show that under 30% of working age recipients had found jobs. The rest either moved to different programs (Family Benefits), moved out the province, went back home to live with their parents, or moved in with someone else. A Community Services Department study of an "exit survey" of 3,500 former recipients in Toronto (also reviewed by the NCW(1997)) shows that 43% had found jobs. However, these people continue to live on the margins. Almost 3/4 of those with paid work had few or no occupational benefits and were working at low-waged and insecure jobs. For example, 20% earned less than \$200 a week.

According to a Metro Toronto (1996) survey of people who left a local welfare office, 29% had found jobs, 21% moved from General Welfare Assistance (GWA) to the Family Benefit Allowance (FBA) system, 13% had assets or income over the allowable amounts, 9% received EI and 8% moved to other jurisdictions. It needs to be noted that this survey was unable to locate 40% of those leaving this welfare office.

The Ontario Social Safety NetWork (SPCMT 1996: 14-17) reports that the drop in caseloads stems from a decline in the number qualifying for welfare, rather than those exiting the system. Reforms have disintitiled people. For example people with "employment earnings" that received a small welfare "top up" are now disintitiled. Similarly, changes to the definition of "spouse" disintitiled more than 10,000 people, mainly women. Further penalties for quitting or being fired from a job disqualify recipients and their families for three months for the first "offense," and six months for subsequent "offenses."

This study also reports on accounts from welfare workers who point to a system that deters applicants. Workers recount that "they are no longer expected to make helping people their first priority; instead the priority now is exhaustive verification of the most minute details of eligibility" (SPCMT 1996:16).

The NetWork also notes that employment and unemployment have a major impact on caseloads. While "this relationship is not as close as it used to be, because of changes in the

structure of the labour market ... there is still a relationship between employment and welfare caseloads." Rather than interpreting caseload declines as an outcome of rate cuts that created an "incentive" to work, the NetWork study suggests that "rates of exit did not change dramatically" after the cuts. If jobs are available, people will work. This is consistent with other research that shows "social transfers have at most modest disincentive effects on labour supply" (SPCMT 1996:15). Most people on welfare want to get off and if jobs are available they will take them (Picot and Myles 1996).

The Canada West Foundation (CWF) (1997a) in Alberta completed a telephone survey of 769 former recipients. Around 57% of the sample were employed, 10% were in school at the time of the interview, and between 15% and 20% were back on welfare. Those working felt they were doing better, but close to 70% reported that they did not have enough money to meet their basic needs (food and shelter) at least once since leaving welfare. About 1/4 to 1/3 reported they had trouble meeting basic needs most or all of the time. This is attributed to the low wage, insecure jobs former recipients are able to find. For example 32.5% had income under \$10,000 in 1996 and because of the low minimum wages in Alberta, a single person working 40 hrs per week earns \$10,400 a year before taxes and payroll contributions. The CWF concludes that those living independent of welfare do not have a good standard of living. Most earn far less than the average and many have a difficult time meeting their basic needs. While some people who left welfare were better-off, the CWF (1997a) finds that *most simply substituted one form of poverty for another by moving from the ranks of the welfare poor into the ranks of the working poor.*

6. The CHST and Disability Incomes.

Another likely casualty following the introduction of the CHST is the future of services and incomes for the disabled. While assistance to the disabled flows through the tax system, the CPP/QPP, private insurance and workers compensation, this section focuses on disability assistance available through the welfare system. The Caledon Institute of Social Policy has addressed this concern in a number of publications regarding the disabled. Some aspects of Caledon's conclusions and recommendations are briefly summarized here.

In several studies the Caledon Institute outlines how the *CHST Spells COST for the Disabled* (Torjman 1995b, Torjman 1996, Caledon 1996, Caledon 1997). Without the legislative and fiscal assurances provided through CAP, special assistance in the form of cash payments, "actual items" such as wheelchairs, or services that include "homemaker and respite care" could be lost with the CHST. Under the CHST these forms of special assistance provided through welfare programs are no longer cost shared. In effect, the important "quasi-medical role" (Torjman, 1995b: 1) provided through provincial/territorial welfare programs is in jeopardy, as are the disabled. Even if these jurisdictions choose to provide these services and income supports on their own, this is complicated by declining federal transfers and increased demand.

As noted by Caledon, 16% of the population suffer from a disability and a large number of the disabled have low incomes. This current situation will become more acute with the aging of the population where “disabilities are most common”; the deinstitutionalization of people with disabilities; and the fact that seniors are more likely to have a severe disability (Torjman 1996: 2).

The predictable growth in disability, in the context of declining federal support (both financially and through the legislative framework of the CHST), and the subsequent offloading of responsibility to lower jurisdictions, suggests a precarious future for the disabled.

One solution offered by Caledon (1996, 1997) is a policy alternative along the same lines as the Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit (CCTB/NCB). Like the federal CCTB/NCB payment, this involves a disability transfer paid on “the basis of a simple and anonymous income test” to persons with disabilities that are dependent on the welfare system (Caledon, 1997:15). As is the case in the CCTB/NCB, provinces would deduct the value of this transfer from welfare payments and reinvest this in support and services for low income people with disabilities. In terms of the current fragmentation of the Canada’s welfare state, such a program would help to ensure that these benefits for the disabled are “portable” and “consistent” across the nation.

7.1 Impacts on the Third and Informal Sectors.

There are several ways that the impact of declining state or centralized provisions on third sector organizations are considered in the literature. One is the notion of devolution as fragmentation. This reflects the off-loading of income security responsibilities from federal and provincial auspices to other jurisdictions. This offloading represents a shift from collective responsibility for individual well-being, to a more individualized approach based on individual, family and community responsibility. The research reviewed here concentrates on this dimension of devolution.

The second aspect of devolution, that of renewal, points a heightened plurality of control over service delivery. This aspect of devolution is discussed in more detail under *[C] Policy Alternatives*.

7.2 Differential Impact - Non-Profit Community Organizations.

The impact of the decline in formal income support provisions affects individual households, the informal sector of support provided by friends, families and communities, the availability and delivery of non-income support services and the roles and responsibilities of the third

sector. Research by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT 1996:12,13) indicates, however, that alongside cuts in welfare rates, there are substantial cuts to non-profit community organizations. They provide "a picture of the disappearing social services sector" that is taking place with the cuts to this sector. In its analysis of 629 community agencies that are responsible for 1,453 programs, the following outcomes are reported:

- In 1995, 162 programs were canceled, along with 20 childcare programs.
- In 1996 another 106 programs are scheduled to be canceled. These latter programs include:
 - 57% of all employment/skills training and skills development programs
 - 56% of all legal services
 - 52% of all programs in the general service sector
 - 43% of supportive housing programs

In terms of target groups the canceled programs and those under review affect the following populations:

- 50% of all programs for low income individuals and families
- 58% of all programs for youth
- 55% of all programs for pre-school children (not including childcare)
- 51% of all programs for women
- 43% of all programs for refugees and immigrants

This study also notes that this list reflects cuts to current services. "It does not reflect the fact that welfare cuts have increased the demands for many of these services" (SPCMT 1996:13).

(i) Impact of reductions in social assistance and increased requirements for eligibility on food bank usage.

A number of studies trace the impact of changes to formal income security programs (the CHST, EI and provincial welfare rates and regulations) on the need for food bank support. In Saskatchewan, the Poverty Action Group (Manning 1997a) and the Regina Food Bank (Manning 1997b) compared 1996 welfare benefits with Statistics Canada's estimates of average costs by family size. While Saskatchewan did not cut welfare rates in 1996 (NCW 1997:83), these still remain far below the levels of adequacy as determined by Statistics Canada. For example, a single person receives about 45% of the level of required incomes as measured by average expenditures. A single parent with two children obtains approximately 39% of what Statistics Canada suggests is an average income requirement.

The impact of these income shortfalls are documented by the Regina Food Bank (Manning

1997b). In 1996 a total of 97,779 people relied on the food bank. This represents an increase of 11% from 1995. This upward trend in food bank usage continued in the first four months of 1997 with a total of 11,904 orders for food compared to 11,903 in the first quarter of 1996.

The major source of income for food bank users is social assistance (94.5%). The study argues that people on social assistance have a hard time meeting their requirements as benefits levels are not sufficient. It is also noted that families on social assistance have a "hand to mouth" existence and any unexpected or additional costs (travel, school activities, medical expenses) leave them short of income for basic necessities such as food.

One consequence of benefit reductions is that people have less money for the basic necessities of food and shelter. Efforts to budget, when incomes are not sufficient, results in fixed shelter costs being paid for out of money that is designated for food according income assistance payment schedules. In effect, people are paying more for rent than is budgeted in the welfare schedule. The Ontario Social Safety NetWork (SPCMT 1996:5) finds that with welfare benefit reductions, the numbers paying more than the maximum amount for shelter has increased substantially. In August 1995, "33% of recipients paid more than their maximum shelter allowance. ... By April 1996 this had doubled to 66%." In addition, 83% of couples with children faced shelter costs that exceeded the shelter maximums. The main outcome of benefits that do not meet realistic shelter costs is that money earmarked for food is used to supplement shelter allowances. As a result, there is not enough money left to purchase food. This has led to substantial increases in food bank usage in Ontario. The following data demonstrate this (see SPCMT 1996:7-8):

- In the spring of 1996, 66% of food bank users in Metropolitan Toronto affected by welfare cuts said they were going without food more often.
- The proportion of adult food bank users who missed meals on a daily basis because they could not afford food rose from 15% in 1995 to 35% in 1996.
- The per cent of people having no food for two or more days before receiving help from a food bank rose from 13% in 1995 to 18% in 1996.
- This hunger crisis is acute for children. In 1996, 71,000 children that lived in families in the Toronto area required food bank assistance. This represents a 65% increase from 1995.

In British Columbia, the Social Planning and Research Council of BC (1997) draws a similar conclusion in its analysis of BC Benefits. This research compares BC Benefit shelter and support allowances with daily living costs. If one receives the maximum BC Benefit there is still a substantial shortfall in the income that is required to meet the costs of daily living. A single adult has approximately 48% of what is needed while a single parent with one child receives around 64% of the amount needed for daily living. BC Benefits for two adults with two children represent 55% of the income SPARC reports is required to meet daily costs. As in the Ontario and Saskatchewan studies, this BC research finds that "a major contributing

factor in the increased demand for food banks" is the inadequacy of income assistance benefits (SPARC 1997: iv).

A study by the Edmonton Social Planning Council (1996) shows a dramatic rise in food bank use since the benefit reductions in social assistance initiated in 1993. In January 1996, food bank use in Edmonton had increased by 122% compared to three years earlier. These January 1996 figures were not a "temporary blip but the beginning of a new plateau of need" (ESPC 1996:13) as food bank use remained between 18,000 and 22,500 people a month from February through April of 1996.

In assessing the causes of food bank use the study suggests government policy plays an important role (ESPC 1996:11,14). Alberta's welfare program (Supports for Independence (SFI) changed its focus in 1993 in an effort to actively move people from welfare into training and/or jobs. Benefit levels were cut by an average of 17% and fell, on average, 34% below poverty line requirements. Eligibility requirements for welfare were also tightened and some 50% of applications were denied assistance when they have "real and valid financial need." In addition, SFI recipients are not provided with extra resources to help them find work - a practice which extends the period of dependence on welfare. As a result of these policies, up to 50% of SFI clients turn to the food bank at some time during a one year period. Those turned away from SFI receive help from the food bank in "almost universal numbers" (ESPC 1996: 63). The study concludes that SFI is the government "program that most affects food bank clients." Low waged work also contributes to food bank use as more than 14% of food bank users are the working poor.

Hunger Count 97 produced by the Canadian Association of Foodbanks (1997:1,2) shows that in Canada the number of people turning to food banks has doubled between March 1989 and March 1997 - from 329,000 to 669,000. This study attributes this growth to increased unemployment and cut-backs in the social safety net. The following conclusions show this linkage. First, it is noted that "in the wake of federal reductions in access to UI, combined with radical cuts to transfer funds directed to provinces for social services, foodbanks have shouldered more and more of the burden of poverty, unemployment, family breakdowns and illness." Second, the report argues that "one cannot escape the conclusion that reductions in federal programs for the poor have created increasing hardship for hundreds of thousands of Canadians." The study shows that per capita federal transfers for social services have declined, in constant dollars, from \$556 in 1989 to \$312 in 1997.

7.3. Differential Impact - Support Network of Friends and Families.

This picture of disappearing services provided through the auspices of non-profits and community organizations that are partially funded by governments, suggests that an increasing role will be played by the informal support network of friends, families and communities.

While this is the case in regards to community organizations such as food banks, new regulations following Ontario's welfare reform increasingly curtail people's ability to obtain help from family and friends. Any regular support "from parents, siblings, ex-spouses or anyone else in cash or in kind - groceries, diapers, etc. -is "income" under welfare regulations and must be deducted from benefits" (SPCMT 1996:13). In other words, even if people have families that are able or willing to help, families cannot simply provide assistance. Two examples presented by the SPCMT show what happens. In one instance a welfare client received vegetables from her father's garden. This was treated as income by welfare authorities and an equivalent value was reduced from her welfare benefit. In another example, a disabled person borrowed \$1000 from his parents for special equipment prescribed by a doctor. This was treated as an overpayment and the full value of the loan had to be deducted from his welfare entitlement.

7.4. Differential Impact - Women.

Regarding the differential impact on individual households, the Canada West Foundation (1997d, 1997f) points out that women, particularly single mothers and seniors, face extra hardships resulting from general cutbacks in social assistance and other government income programs. A number of reasons for this are cited by the Foundation (CWF 1997d: 5,6):

- On average women are poorer.
- Financially, women are more dependent on government income transfers.
- Women's jobs are less stable and low paying.
- As a result of their caring and child responsibilities, women have greater trouble finding full time work. In addition, spending on child care services has decreased in many jurisdictions and this further restricts the employment prospects of women.
- Women suffer the majority of family violence, and cutbacks in welfare and EI benefits often force women back into abusive relationships.

Considering the last point, above, the CWF (1997d:10,11) examined shelter use of women between 1992 and 1994. The information came from the Women's Shelter Information System (WSIS) in Alberta, which provides information on all women applying to emergency or satellite shelters that are partially funded by the provincial government. Of women applying for shelter assistance in these years, the percentage not admitted rose from 50.7% in 1992 to 53% in 1994. The major reason women were not admitted in these years occurred because the shelter they sought help from was full. Data from the WSIS also finds that the informal network of family and friends plays a significant and larger role than secondary shelters. However the size and extent of the role of family and friends in offering support with regard to family violence in particular, but also more generally, has not been adequately measured.

Linkages:

- The changing role of government income support (social assistance and EI) and the affect this has on non-state organizations is linked to the key research stream *[C]Policy Alternatives*, particularly in relation to the changing roles and responsibilities of the third sector. It is also discussed below regarding the effect of benefit reductions on the need for food bank support.

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

There is a need to assess the effect of reduced federal transfers stemming from the CHST on people that rely on provincial income support and services. The CCSD (1996:3) recommends that new indices or measures of social progress be developed and that these be used to measure progress and account for the use of public resources. At present, measures gauged to assess economic progress such as the gross national product and the consumer price index fail to capture the well-being of individuals, families and our society overall. As noted by the CCSD (1996:3) research is needed to:

- identify benchmarks or measures to assess our social progress;
- guide decisions around social investment or disinvestments that would determine where to make reductions;
- establish recognized definitions and measures that would allow us to set social goals and targets;
- permit us to allocate our resources and energies where needed.

In its review of caseloads and ways of tracking those that leave, the Ontario Social Safety NetWork (1996:14) suggests clear answers to the following questions need to be determined through further research:

- What is the precise nature of the decline in caseloads?
- Why are people leaving the system or not applying for welfare?
- Where do they go and how do they survive?
- How long will people remain off welfare?
- Do shrinking caseloads mean less poverty or more desperation for those who have left the welfare rolls?

Additional Research Questions:

- What is the relationship between welfare benefits and caseloads?
- What are reasonable expectations/responsibilities of people who receive social

assistance?

- How do reforms in income assistance affect couples without children? Are they the new “undeserving poor”?
- What is the existence of and dynamics of “races to the bottom” in provincial income security programs?
- What are the interactions between EI and provincial welfare programs?
- How does the depth and duration of poverty affect adults and children?
- How should we define poverty? Is there a preferred method that “anti-poverty” activists should back?
- How do changes in formal income supports affect the attitudes of Canadians towards the poor?
- Are Canadians less compassionate or seeking “new ways” to give support to the poor?
- What is the Canadian public’s understanding of, and support for, the shift in social policy represented by changing levels of formal income support?
- What are the political and social capital (public’s attitudes, values towards and participation in changes to public programs) determinants of income security policies?
- What are the effects of these changes on the extent of unpaid work? What are the implications for efforts to measure and value unpaid work? What are the policy implications for Canadians, especially women?
- What is the extent to which these programs infringe on women’s citizenship rights and entitlements as individuals?
- Longitudinal data bases and standardized provincial data bases are required to assess the impact on individuals who have experienced the impact of cut backs.
- There is a need to trace the impact of the CHST on health care and post secondary education. How do these effect the poor? Are there increasing barriers to post-secondary education? What is the impact on health care for seniors? How do cuts in welfare affect the entitlement of the disabled?

In this period of offloading financial and service responsibilities from governments to other organizations, the extent of support and assistance provided by family and friends remains unknown. The role and capacity of family and friends is an important gap in knowledge and research (CWF 1997d:12). In another study on *Making Ends Meet: Income Support in Alberta*, the CWF (1997g:19) notes that an important problem facing the transition to a *welfare society* is that the extent to which the non-profits, the informal sector and the community can “pick up the slack” created by reforms in welfare is still unknown. In addition, the extent to which changes to welfare have “altered the need for income support and other social services” is also inadequately documented.

Additional Research Questions:

- How do families use their friends and family members for financial assistance? What

- are families strengths and coping mechanisms?
- How do individuals and families provide for themselves when governments cut back? How does this affect policy?
 - What are the relationships between government, for profit and non-profit service deliverers? What is the impact of these relationships? Who can best deliver services in a particular area?
 - Do non-government service deliverers have the capacity to absorb the evolution of services? How do we answer this question?
 - More research examining and evaluating alternative service delivery mechanisms across Canada and internationally is required.

Bibliography

BC Benefits. 1996. *The Initiative*. Victoria: Ministry of Social Services.
(<http://www.gov.bc.ca/bcben/initiatives.html>).

BC Campaign 2000. 1997. *Child Poverty in BC. Report Card 1997*. Vancouver: BC Teachers' Federation.

Boessenkool, K. 1997. *Back to Work: Learning from the Alberta Welfare Experiment*. CD Howe Institute Commentary. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Caledon, 1996. *The Disability Income System In Canada: Options for Reform*. Ottawa: Caledon. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full74.htm>).

Caledon, 1997. *Memo to the Next Prime Minister*. Ottawa: Caledon.
(<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full75.htm>).

Campaign 2000. 1997. *Child Poverty in Canada: Report Card 1997*. Toronto: Campaign 2000.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997a: *Welfare Reform in Alberta: A Survey of Former Recipients*. (September, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997b. *Issues and Options for Change: Social Services for the 21st Century*. (March, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997c. *Case Studies*. (March, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997d. *Restructuring of Social Services: The Impact on Women in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997e. *Alberta's Children: Issues, Programs and Restructuring*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997f. (August, 1997) *The Safety Net and Seniors in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997g. (March 1997). *Making Ends Meet: Income Support in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). 1997. "CCSD's Response to the 1997

Federal Budget." *Position Paper*. Ottawa: CCSD. (<http://www.ccsd.ca/budg97.htm>).

_____. 1996. "CCSD Proposes Measures to Halt Erosion of Federal Support for Canada's Social Program," Ottawa: CCSD. (<http://www.ccsd.ca/pr-chst.html>).

Canadian Association of Food Banks, 1997. *Hunger Count 97*.

Edmonton Social Planning Council. 1997. "Poverty Trends in Edmonton: The Race to the Bottom Heats Up!" Edmonton: ESPC.

Edmonton Social Planning Council. 1996. *Two Paycheques Away: Social Policy and Hunger in Edmonton*. Edmonton: Edmonton Social Planning Council/Edmonton Gleaners' Association.

Manning, L. 1997a. "Please, Mr. Minister, I Need Some More!" Regina: Poverty Action Group.

_____. 1997b. "Presentation to the Caucus Committee on Social Policy." (June 17, 1997). Regina: Regina & District Food Bank Inc.

Metro Toronto. 1996. *Impacts of General Welfare Assistance Rate Reductions*. Report to the Metro Toronto Human Services Committee ("Impacts"). May 27th.

Morton, B. 1997. "Fighting for Basic Human Rights." *Briarpatch* (January):19-21.

Moscovitch, A. 1997. "Social Assistance in the New Ontario." (pp: 80-91) in D. Ralph, A. Regimbald and N. St-Amand (eds.), *Mike Harris's Ontario: Open for Business. Closed to People*. Halifax: Fernwood.

_____. 1997. *Another Look at Welfare Reform: A Report by the National Council of Welfare*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO). 1997. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: An Update - March 21, 1997." Ottawa: NAPO.

_____. 1996. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: October 17, 1996." Ottawa: NAPO.

Ontario Social Service Workers Coordinating Committee 1997. "Ontario's Workfare Plan - What You Should Know." (<http://worldchat.com/public/tab/ossbcc/1cupe.htm>).

Picot, G. and J. Myles. 1996. "Social Transfers, Changing Family Structure and Low Income Among Children." Statistics Canada. *Analytical Studies Branch*, Product No. 11F0019E, No. 82.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997a: "The Changing Context of Child and Family Policies." (pp:14-38) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997b. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Discriminating between the 'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' among Poor Families with Children." (pp: 204-208) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham, J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1996. "The Changing Landscape of Social Policy and the Canadian Welfare State." (pp 2-29) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Social Planning and Research Council of BC (SPARC). 1997. *Widening the Gap: A Comparison Between the Daily Living and Income Assistance Rates (BC Benefits) in British Columbia*. Vancouver: SPARC of BC.

Social Planning Council of Kitchener-Waterloo (SPCKW). 1995. *Common Sense Revolution Impact Reports (1-6)*. Kitchener-Waterloo: Social Planning Council of Kitchener-Waterloo.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT). 1996. "Ontario's Welfare Rate Cuts: An Anniversary Report." The Ontario Social Safety NetWork. Toronto: SPCMT (<http://www.worldchat.com/public/tab/owrc1/htm>).

Stokes J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997. "Understanding Child Welfare in Canada's Small Communities." (pp 9-18) in J. Stokes and G. Ternowetsky, *Child Welfare in Northern, Remote and Rural Communities: An Annotated Bibliography*. Prince George: Child Welfare Research Centre, University of Northern British Columbia.

Torjman, S. 1996. *Desperate for Respite*. Ottawa: Caledon. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full69.htm>).

Torjman, S. 1995a. *The Let-Them-Eat-Cake Law*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full40.htm>).

_____. 1995b. *CHST Spells COST for Disabled*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full39.htm>).

Torjman, S. and K. Battle. 1995a. *The Dangers of Block Funding*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/sum32.htm>).

_____. 1995b. *Can We Have National Standards*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full38.htm>).

Toronto Daily Bread Food Bank. 1996. *Creating Hunger: Impact of Ontario Government Welfare Reforms*. Toronto: Daily Bread Food Bank.

Vaillancourt, Y. 1996. "Remaking Canadian Social Policy: A Quebec Viewpoint." (pp: 81-99) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Child Poverty, the CHST and Child Benefits: The Canada Child Tax Benefit and the National Child Benefit.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

In 1989 an all party resolution was passed in the Canadian House of Commons to attempt to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000. Campaign 2000, a national coalition of groups concerned with child poverty, has monitored the government's progress in achieving this goal. The results are not encouraging. In 1989 the year the resolution was passed there were 934,000 (14.5% of all children in Canada) living in poverty. By 1995, the most recent year that data on child poverty are available, the number of poor children increased to 1,472,000 or 21% of the children living in this country (Campaign 2000 1997). The report by Campaign 2000 uses Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-off (LICOs) to measure changes in child poverty in this country. The following information presented in the Campaign 2000 *Report Card 1997* points to a deterioration in the situation of Canada's children since 1989.

- The per cent of poor children has grown by 58%.
- The per cent of children in families experiencing long term unemployment has gone up by 47%.
- The per cent of children in working poor families has increased by 43%.
- The per cent of children in families needing social assistance has grown by 68%.
- The number of children living in unaffordable rented housing has gone up by 48%.
- The number of poor children in two-parent families has increased by 57%.
- The number of poor children in lone-parent families has grown by 64%.
- Children living in families with less than \$20,000 have gone up by 45%.

Another way to consider the state of families with children is to compare the income gap between rich and poor families. Campaign 2000's *Report Card 1997* (Campaign 2000 1997) shows that in 1995 the gap for Canada is \$42,510. This is the second highest income gap among nine selected OECD countries, even though a comparative index of national wealth shows that Canada ranks second among these countries. Many of these poor children come from families that depend on social assistance, and as noted above, benefit rates in all provinces have either been cut or have declined as they are not adjusted to the cost of living (NAPO 1997; NCW 1997).

2.1 The Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit.

Two years after announcing the CHST, the Federal Budget of 1997 (Canada 1997a; Canada 1997b) introduced the Canada Child Tax Benefit as a new program for assisting poor children. The first stage of the CCTB began in July 1997. It is based on enriching the Working Income Supplement (WIS) component of the existing Child Tax Benefit (CTB) from \$500 annually to \$605 for the first child, \$405 for the second child and \$330 for each additional child.

Previously the CTB offered a \$500 working income supplement regardless of the number of children in the family. The second phase of the new CCTB comes into effect in July 1998. In this phase the basic Child Tax Benefit and the enriched WIS from stage 1 are combined to form the new Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) or what is now called The National Child Benefit (NCB) (Canada 1997c). The new National Child Benefit amounts to \$1,625 for the first child, and 1,425 for each additional child. The dollar values of this federal transfer to children in poor families are equivalent to those paid in stage 1 that began in July 1997.

According to the Finance Minister, Paul Martin, the enriched CCTB represents a commitment of \$850, \$600 million in new money starting in July 1998, as well as the \$250 million WIS increase announced in the 1996 Federal Budget.

Analyses of the CCTB/NCB (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1997b; Pulkingham, Ternowetsky and Hay 1997; Ternowetsky 1997) indicate that it is a mistake to treat spending on the CCTB/NCB as new money. Rather it constitutes a small repayment of the \$7 billion that have been siphoned from federal transfer payments to the provinces for social assistance with the introduction of the CHST. Their analyses also point to several key issues that suggest the CCTB/NCB is an inappropriate method of transferring benefits to poor children. These key problems areas are listed below:

- An initial problem is that a benefit earmarked for children should be delivered on the basis of the financial needs of children. Instead, it is based on work status, or source of income of parents.
- This method of determining eligibility for both the enriched WIS and the future NCB is flawed. In practice it means that more than 60% of Canada's poor children will gain nothing financially from this new program as they come from families whose major source of income is from welfare (Valpy 1997).
- What the government has done is bolster the distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. The rationing of assistance on the basis of workforce participation fits the neoliberal version of social policy. It is based on individual effort and worthiness of assistance, rather than collective responsibility for the well-being of all people.
- On its own, the WIS and the NCB has merit in that it helps poor children in families

with a parent in the workforce. However, these should not be presented as a child benefit as work status of parents, not the financial needs of children, is the criterion for qualifying for extra benefits.

There are several key phrases in the budget documents and the NCB discussion paper that further help to assess how these benefits will help poor children. These are:

- With the introduction of stage 2, in July 1998, “families on social assistance would receive no less overall” than they currently obtain through provincial and territorial welfare payments (Canada 1997a:6).
 - As federal benefits increase with the new NCB in July 1998, “provinces and territories will decrease benefits for social assistance recipients. This decrease will not exceed the amount of the federal increase - the total benefit available to social assistance families will remain at least the same” (Canada 1997c:9). What this means is that the provinces/territories are able to deduct the enriched component of the NCB from welfare families with children. The potential value of this deduction ranges from \$605 for a family with one child to \$1,670 for a family with four children.
 - “The funds that provinces/territories would have otherwise spent on social assistance will be devoted to reducing barriers to work and to providing more benefits and services for low-income families” (Canada 1997c:10). These funds represent the total value of the NCB deduction taken from welfare families with children.
- (i) *What are the implications of targeting child benefits to families with a parent or parents in the workforce?*

The research and analyses of the CCTB/NCB conducted by Ternowetsky (1997), Pulkingham and Ternowetsky (1997b) and Pulkingham, Ternowetsky and Hay (1997) provide the following responses to this question.

1. Families with children on social assistance will probably gain nothing financially from the new NCB. This is the case as the extra money paid to families with children by the federal government will be deducted from families whose income derives from welfare.
2. This means that the income of these families will remain pegged at different welfare rates that are current in the provinces and territories. As shown in *Welfare Incomes 1996* (NCW 1997-98), these are far below accepted standards of income adequacy.
3. The money the provinces/territories deduct from the NCB is to be earmarked for a

National Reinvestment Fund, where savings will be “reinvested” in benefits and services designed to “prevent and reduce the depth of child poverty” and promote “attachment to the workforce for people on social assistance.”

4. Many of these services envisioned by the federal, provincial and territorial governments in this reinvestment fund previously were mandated legally through the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). These were lost with the elimination of CAP and the introduction of the CHST. Now, it appears that these services and benefits will be financed, in part, through the moneys deducted from the federal transfers to welfare families with children.
5. Most of this reinvested money will be used for low income working families or for enhancing the employability and workforce attachment of parents on welfare. Witness the comments of Mr. Pettigrew the federal Minister of Human Resources (Globe and Mail 1997:A6). He “isn’t bothered at all that these reinvestment programs might exclude children on welfare, saying: ‘The very objective is to reduce the welfare wall’” (i.e. help parents move from welfare to work).
6. Single parents and their children are economically most vulnerable, as they are disproportionately represented among Canada’s poor. What are the implications of the NCB for single parent mothers and their children?
 - Raising children is important and needs to be valued and supported by the NCB. Lone parents who rely on income assistance while raising their children have few alternatives other than welfare as a means of support.
 - As noted in a study on *Restructuring of Social Services: The Impact on Women in Alberta* (CWF 1997d) single female parents as a group are most dependent on government transfers; they are ill-equipped financially to absorb policy changes in levels of income support; and this group has limited options that stem from the financial burden of raising children and the sole, caregiving responsibilities of single mothers. In terms of finding employment, or undertaking training they are “limited in their choice of employment, in their ability to take advantage of retraining ... and their ability to relocate to gain employment” (CWF 1997d:4).
 - The income support initiatives involved in the CCTB and the NCB only exacerbate the economic vulnerability of single parents dependent on income assistance and their children.
 - The policy of excluding families with children on welfare (both lone

parent and two parent families) and targeting benefits to families with a parent(s) in the workforce, creates a *new group of vulnerable poor in Canada. Poor families with children that are dependent on welfare are the new group of vulnerable poor as they are disentitled from extra incomes designed to bolster incomes of poor families with children.*

- Another point noted by Pulkingham and Ternowetsky (1997:206) is that like the earlier CTB introduced by the Mulroney Conservatives in 1992, the enriched WIS continues to penalized and disentitle many of the working poor, particularly women, who work part-time and receive low or minimum wages. This occurs as the WIS begins to kick in at an annual wage of \$3,750. After \$10,000 the full amount of the WIS is paid up to an earned income of \$20,291.
- With continued high unemployment and the spread of low-waged work, income thresholds of \$3,750 and \$10,000 are too high as they exclude working parents that earn less.
- The minimum wage in many provinces for full-time, full-year work hovers around \$10,000. This means that part-time workers, many of whom are women with children, will likely be excluded from receiving the full value of the WIS.
- The enriched WIS and the CCTB/NCB *not only abandon poor families in receipt of income assistance, but also excluded are the poorest of the working poor.*
- The CWF (1997e) also shows that the predecessor of the CCTB/NCB, the targeted Child Tax Benefit combined with the WIS failed in its stated goal of directing more funds to the poorest of the poor. In fact using a constant dollar time series analysis the CWF finds that the most marginal and poorest families saw a decrease in their real transfer incomes. This is the outcome of targeting benefits to a work test - a policy that disentitles the poorest of the poor.

In a review of the CCTB announced in the 1997 Federal Budget, the CCSD (1997) underscores the point that families who rely primarily on provincial social assistance will see no improvement in their benefits as a result of the CCTB. For those not working, the provincial governments will reduce children's benefits to an amount that is commensurate with the increased transfers of the CCTB. The CCSD (1997:3) also notes that increased child benefits are not protected "against the eroding power of inflation." The research undertaken by the CCSD suggests that each year spending on the Child Tax Benefit has declined by \$170 million

as a result of not indexing benefits to changes in the cost of living. It also suggests that the \$600 million in new money is inadequate. According to its research an increase in \$2 billion is required to reduce the number of poor children by about 20%. In conclusion the CCSD stresses the importance of taking the restructuring of labour markets into account, arguing that a more comprehensive strategy for eliminating child poverty is required. "Children are poor because their parents are poor. A serious federal/provincial/territorial strategy to reduce child poverty will have to tackle problems such as low wages and insecure employment, high levels of joblessness, inadequate social assistance, disappearing social services and inadequate child care and housing" (CCSD 1997:4).

Linkages: The CCTB/NCB as Labour Market Policy: Links to Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare.

- In fact, targeting extra benefit to a work test is a labour market policy that entrenches a low wage strategy. It does this in a number of ways. First, it is part of a broader welfare strategy aimed at reducing income assistance benefits while increasing the requirement to work. Second, because of these policies, low wages become more attractive even though remuneration levels are unable to meet basic needs. In this context the WIS component of the CCTB and the requirement to work in the NCB act as a low wage subsidy, making low wage jobs more tolerable, enlarging the pool of people willing to take up low wage jobs and thereby intensifying a downward pressure on wages (Ontario Social Services Workers Coordinating Committee 1997).

Linkages: An Integrated Child Benefit as a Policy Alternative.

- A paper by Battle and Mendelson (1997) presents the new CCTB/NCB as an initial step towards an integrated child benefit system. This is discussed further in *[C] Policy Alternatives*.

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

- A national evaluation of the impact of the CCTB/NCB is needed.
- What is the impact of the CCTB on welfare and low-wage families in different parts of the country?
- What is the impact of the CCTB on the depth of poverty (for families with children)?
- What is the impact of "reinvestment" programs under the CCTB arrangement? How do these differ between provincial and territorial jurisdiction?

Bibliography

- Battle, K. and M. Mendelson. 1997. *Child Benefit Reform in Canada: An Evaluative Framework and Future Directions*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.
(www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-3.htm and [cbr-4.htm](http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-4.htm)).
- Campaign 2000. 1997. *Child Poverty in Canada: Report Card 1997*. Toronto: Campaign 2000.
- Canada, 1997a. *Towards a National Child Benefit System*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.
- _____. 1997b. *Working Together Towards a National Child Benefit*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.
- _____. 1997c. *The National Child Benefit: Building a Better Future for Canadian Children*. Ottawa: Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Social Services.
- Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997a. *Restructuring of Social Services: The Impact on Women in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.
- _____. 1997b. *Alberta's Children: Issues, Programs and Restructuring*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.
- Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). 1997. "CCSD's Response to the 1997 Federal Budget." *Position Paper*. Ottawa: CCSD. (<http://www.ccsd.ca/budg97.htm>).
- Globe and Mail. 1997. "Child Tax Benefit to Face Public Scrutiny." *Globe and Mail*. Sept. 23: A9.
- National Council of Welfare (NCW). 1997-98. *Welfare Incomes 1996*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- _____. 1997. *Another Look at Welfare Reform: A Report by the National Council of Welfare*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.
- National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO). 1997. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: An Update - March 21, 1997." Ottawa: NAPO.
- Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Discriminating between the 'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' among Poor Families with Children." (pp: 204-208) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family*

Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham, J., G. Ternowetsky and D. Hay. 1997. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Eradicating Poverty or Victimizing the Poorest?" *The CCPA Monitor*. Vol 4. No. 1 (May): 6-7.

Ternowetsky, G. 1997. "Child Poverty and the National Child Benefit: Disentitlement for the Poorest of Poor Children." *Child Welfare Research Centre Newsletter*. Vol 2. #2:10-13.

Valpy, M. 1997. "A downpayment, but where does it lead?" *Globe and Mail*. Feb. 20. 1997. A:12.

Employment Insurance.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

Research on unemployment insurance reform falls typically into two categories: (i) analyses concerned with the job training/employment creation component of the new Employment Insurance (EI) Act (employment benefits) and (ii) analyses concerned with the nature and impacts of changes to unemployment income benefits. While there is considerable literature, primarily in the field of economics, analysing the unemployment insurance program, published research in the post-1996 era (post implementation of the new EI legislation) is fairly limited. This section of the report will describe briefly the changes to unemployment income and employment benefits brought about by the new EI Act. It also will discuss in more detail analyses of changes to the income benefits component of the Act. A more detailed discussion of analyses of the employment benefits component of the Act is provided in Section B where job training and employment creation measures are discussed.

2.1. The New Employment Insurance Act.

On July 1, 1996, Bill C-12, the new Employment Insurance (EI) system came into effect, replacing the Unemployment Insurance Act and National Training Act. This followed two years of debate and the release of numerous policy documents concerning UI reform. UI reform figures prominently in the federal liberal government's social security reform agenda.² According to the government, it is a primary target because in this arena "the federal government lead is clear" (HRDC 1994a:7), and it represents "a prime example of how programs have lagged behind the pace of economic change" (HRDC 1994a:8).³

The new Employment Insurance system, like its predecessor, provides individual income benefits ("unemployment benefits) and employment assistance/benefits ("active re-employment

² The most recent federal social security review process began in January 1994 when the House of Commons Standing Committee on Human Resources Development was directed to "consult" and "make recommendations regarding the modernization and restructuring of Canada's social security system" (quoted in Jennissen 1996:30).

³ The need for "economic change" in this instance refers to the pressure to harmonize Canadian labour market outcomes (on a low wage basis) with those of its trading partners (the US in particular). Thus as Stanford (1996:144) argues, UI reform is intended to increase forcibly economic insecurity in order to moderate wage demands.

benefits")⁴ (HRDC 1996c:1). Within each of these components of the program, however, significant structural changes have been made. The deepest cuts are to unemployment income benefits. The changes were implemented in two phases: July 1, 1996 and January 1, 1997. EI is designed to "reinforce work" and help "unemployed persons to be productive participants in the labour force" (House of Commons 1995:1a).

(i) Regarding unemployment income benefits, the new system:

- bases program eligibility (regular and special benefits) and the duration of regular benefits on hours, rather than weeks, worked in the past 52 calendar weeks;
- extends coverage to all part-time workers and changes the benefit calculation period (weekly benefits are determined by basing average earnings on those weeks with earnings in the 26 weeks prior to filing a claim, divided by 14 to 22 weeks, depending on the regional rate of unemployment);
- reduces the maximum length of claims (from 50 to 45 weeks);
- reduces or eliminates regular benefits depending on the "regularity" of EI use and the claimants annual income (the so-called "intensity rule" combined with a differential benefit clawback);
- increases the clawback of benefits;
- reduces the maximum insurable earnings (MIE) level (from \$42,380 to \$39,000 per year);
- reduces the premium rates for employees and employers;
- changes the premium structure by making premiums payable on all earnings (every dollar "counts") up to the lowered MIE threshold;
- provides a premium refund for low income workers (individuals earning \$2,000 or less per year) and small business;
- introduces a family supplement for claimants with dependent children in low-income families based on family income.

(ii) "Employment benefits" include a five component "tool box" administered through a new fund, the Human Resources Investment Fund (HRIF). The five tools are: targeted earning

⁴ In keeping with the general emphasis on "active" social policy, the new legislation revamped programs aimed at getting claimants back-to-work. The existing programs were replaced with five active employment measures: wage subsidies (for claimants with designated employers with "high re-employment rates for participants"); earnings supplements ("aimed at increasing the incomes of people for a temporary period who would otherwise find it difficult to take a lower-paying job"); self-employment assistance (helping "unemployed people start a business and therefore create work"); job-creating partnerships ("to create jobs that are sustainable in local economies where there is high unemployment and jobs are scarce . . . [and] which themselves will foster sustainable economic growth;" and skill loans and grants (to attend provincial or other accredited institutions to develop needed job skills, in agreements with the provincial government (HRDC 1995a:20-24).

supplements (delayed), targeted wage subsidies, skills loans and grants (delayed pending provincial agreements), self-employment, job creation partnerships, and training purchases (to take effect in July 1999). In contrast to unemployment income benefits which are "entitlements" (if one qualifies), employment benefits are discretionary and paid for from the EI fund. C-21 allows up to 15% of EI expenditures for these Development Uses. The new EI Act continues the trend begun in 1989 of cutting federal support for training and labour market programs and shifting responsibility for these activities to the provinces. Between 1996 and 1999, the federal government will reduce the amount of training it purchases each year. Instead, approximately \$2 billion annually will flow to the provinces subject to provincial and territorial agreements. The Act also changed the basis for financing training: Loans to individuals replace direct federal subsidies to provincially-run community colleges. The Act also allows the federal government and provinces to commercialize training and employment services so that they are run as a profit-driven service.

2.2. Commentary/Critique of Employment Insurance Unemployment Income Benefits.

(i) Moving closer to a "true" insurance program

It is widely acknowledged that a key purpose of the current reform is to bring about a "return" to the "genuine" insurance principle of "income replacement," away from the "redistributive" principle of "income supplementation" that has supposedly compromised the UI program (Boessenkool & Robson 1997; Nakamura 1996). The move to "true" insurance principles responds to considerable criticism of the UI system for its purported "warping" of insurance principles (cf. Hollet & May 1995; Corak 1994). May and Hollett's (1995: 98) sentiments are typical of those who are critical of the old UI system:

"Little by little, the UI system has been transformed from its role of maintaining the incomes of workers who experience short-term periods of unemployment because of cyclical fluctuations into providing income supplementation and even basic income support for many workers, whether seasonal workers or "repeaters" who work for the same employer year after year."

Another C.D. Howe Institute analysis (Nakamura 1996) praises the new EI legislation because it is "closer to a true insurance program that treats all participants even-handedly." Two features of the new system-- the "intensity rule" and the "clawback provisions" are singled out as important measures bringing the system closer to an insurance model rather than an income transfer system (1996:9). These features are discussed below. Nakamura's analysis (1996:4) implies that the initial warping of the insurance basis of UI stems from revisions to UI undertaken in 1971. But, as other analyses (Pulkingham 1997; Townson 1995; Overton 1995) demonstrate, "social" insurance principles have always underpinned UI (and other contributory programs, such as CPP).

Pulkingham (1997), for example, points out that from the outset social equity (vertical and horizontal redistribution) goals constituted an integral design feature of the UI program. Moreover, socio-political factors influenced the way "genuine" insurance principles were constructed and the latter often were subverted in order to achieve particular socio-political objectives. Striking examples of this are found in the introduction of measures to exclude married women as eligible beneficiaries in their own right and the provision of a "dependent's allowance" for married claimants with a dependent wife and or children.

(ii) *Extending coverage to part-timers: "counting every hour"*

A widespread assumption is that part-timers benefit by the EI legislation because all part-time employees will be covered for the first time. This is the view promoted by the government in its research analyses of the impact of legislation (HRDC 1996a, 1996b) and by others (cf. Nakamura 1996). Despite claims that the legislation *benefits* part-timers, other analyses (Pulkingham 1996; CCSD 1996) demonstrate that qualifying for benefits is more difficult for part-timers, new entrants and re-entrants to the labour force. The new practice of counting every hour worked based on a 35 hour/week conversion, and counting "every dollar earned" up to the lowered maximum insurable earnings (MIE) threshold, restricts access to income benefits-- regular and special (sickness, maternity and parental). Women represent the majority (54 percent) of the approximately 21 percent of part-timers who were excluded from UI coverage (HRDC, 1996a: Part A, Section 2, Page 7-8, Tables 6 & 7). Pulkingham (1997) emphasizes that those working less than 15 hours per week under UI may now have their *work insured* for the first time, but for many, unless they alter their work schedule by increasing the number of hours worked per week, they will *never actually qualify* for EI. This analysis of HRDC data suggests that a significant proportion (18 percent) of newly insured workers now have to pay premiums but will never be able to qualify for benefits while working less than 15 hours per week (or 17.5 hours per week if they are a new/re-entrant). Only 6% of newly insured workers stand to benefit through coverage and ability to qualify in the event of unemployment). In addition, it would appear that the premium refund also is being used as a way of removing insurance and coverage/entitlement from part-timers covered *and* entitled under the previous legislation. Part-timers working fifteen hours or more per week, but less than thirty-five, represented almost one-quarter (twenty-three percent) of UI claimants (HRDC 1996a: Part A, Section 2, page 2). In addition, as the CCSD (1996) points out, women account for 78% of all those who work between 15 and 35 hours per week. Under EI some of these workers will lose benefits: Based on an analysis of HRDC data, Pulkingham (1996) suggests that 16% of claimants who worked part-time and were eligible for UI benefits will not qualify for EI income benefits with equivalent hours of work. Therefore, a significant portion of part-timers, whether they work less than fifteen hours per week (newly covered) or between fifteen and thirty-five hours per week (previously covered), are worse off as a result of the new legislation.

(iii) *"Frequent claimants," the "intensity rule" and the differential clawback*

With EI, the "intensity rule" (Section 15 of the EI Act) applies to anyone who obtains twenty-one weeks or more of normal benefits in the preceding five years, when making a second or subsequent claim. This will affect almost one-half (47%) of UI claimants (HRDC 1996a: Part A, Section 2, Page 3). Under the "intensity rule" the benefit rate (which starts at 55% of MIE) for new claims is reduced by one percentage point (to a minimum of 50%) for every 20 weeks of benefits claimed during the previous five years. In addition, those ("frequent" claimants) who earn more than \$39,000 will have 50 to 100 percent of their benefits clawed back, depending on the number of EI weeks claimed in the previous five years. This compares to a thirty percent clawback for other claimants who earn more than \$39,000 (Section 145 of the EI Act).

Nakamura (1996) suggests that these "experience rating" features of the program improve its fairness as an "insurance" system and redirect the system away from regional equalization and the provision of federal welfare transfer. In contrast, Walker (1997) suggests that Nakamura pioneers "the doublespeak of referring to benefit disentitlement for repeat claimants as a form of 'experience rating.'" Under this usage, the abandonment of distinct social insurance principles is defended as a *return* to insurance principles. Furthermore, he argues that "the so-called 'experience rating' of benefits (the intensity rule) is inequitable *on insurance grounds* because it is not integrated with a system of genuine experience rating of employer premiums. The logic here flows from the premium structure of EI, which includes both employer and employee premiums. Both parties are "insured" and both are presumed to receive benefits (the benefit to the employer is generally presumed to be lower wage costs associated with insured employment). However only one party -- the employee-- is assessed for the additional costs of frequent claims."

(iv) *The "Family Supplement"*

The family supplement (Section 16 of the EI Act) increases the basic EI benefit rate (of 55% of insurable earnings) for claimants with one or more dependent children who live in low-income families. The income threshold for low-income families (total family income of less than \$25,921) is designed to coincide with the threshold for the child tax benefit (CTB). In addition, only those who qualify for the CTB and Working Income Supplement (WIS) receive the family supplement. Like the CTB (and unlike the previous WIS), the family supplement benefit rate increases with the number of dependent children, rising to a maximum of 65% (a 10% "top-up") of insurable earnings in 1997 and to 80% (a 25% "top-up") in 2000 (HRDC 1995a:14-15). Unlike the CTB, which is paid monthly (by delivered cheque), the family supplement top-up is delivered as part of the biweekly EI cheque. The family supplement provision replaces the one introduced in 1994 that increased the benefit rate (to 60% of insurable earnings) of claimants with dependent children and *individual* incomes of less than \$390 a week (equivalent to a maximum of \$20,280 per annum in 1994).

The government (HRDC 1996a, 1996b) suggests that because of the family benefit, the impact of other reforms which might lower benefits (e.g., the "intensity rule," and the qualifying period for determining benefit levels) will be cushioned for low-income families with children. It is estimated that "on average, claimants in low income families (under \$26,000) with children will actually see their benefit levels rise" by 3% in 1997/8 and 7% in 2001/02 (HRDC 1996a: Part A, Section 1, Page 7). According to the government, approximately 15% of claimants are eligible for the family supplement: a large minority (40.6%, 142,000 of 350,000) of these are lone-mothers, 5.1% are lone-fathers (18,000 of 350,000) and the rest (54.3%) are low-income couples with children (HRDC 1996b: 8).

Given that women constitute the majority of claimants who will benefit, the family supplement is presented as one of a number of provisions within the reformed program that is woman-friendly-- in this instance because it is low-income family-friendly-- a "counterbalancing element" to the reform objective to reduce benefits in order to discourage regular use of the system (HRDC 1996b:10).

Pulkingham's (1997) analysis suggests that there are a number of problems with this provision. A large number of women who were previously entitled to an enhanced benefit rate of 60% (based on their individual income level) are no longer eligible under the new family benefit. Conservatively, considerably more than one-third of UI claimants previously entitled to the low-income supplement are no longer entitled. As Pulkingham (1997) suggests, there is nothing new about enhanced benefit rates for low-income claimants with children, as these have been a feature of the system for much of its existence. What now is new about this type of benefit is the basis for determining eligibility: Previously, eligibility was based on individual earnings whereas now it is based on total family income.

Several analyses (cf. CCSD 1996; Pulkingham 1997) suggest that this is the most significant, and potentially dangerous, aspect of the new family supplement. For the first time in the program's history, family rather than individual income is the basis for determining benefit eligibility. Even though the income-test applies only to the top-up portion of the EI benefit, it represents the "thin edge of the wedge." Once established, the practice of tying a portion EI income benefits to *family* income becomes a precedent that is more easily extended to the basic income benefit component. The rationale behind family income testing (of the top-up or basic benefit) is the (dubious) assumption that families share household income and that scarce resources should be targeted to those most in "need." However, in the event that basic benefits were to be income tested, women with spouses/partners would disproportionately lose access to an important source of independent income because they are more likely to have spouses/partners with considerably higher incomes (pulling family incomes above the eligible income threshold) than are their male counterparts.

(v) Cuts in coverage

With the extension of coverage to all employees (whether they are full or part-time), EI coverage stands at 97%. This is up from 93% under UI (HRDC 1996a: Part A, Section 2, Page 6). Increased coverage is argued to improve the role of EI as an “automatic stabilizer” (Nakamura 1996:7). The role of unemployment insurance as an automatic stabilizer was a key income security function in the Keynesian welfare state (Rosenbluth 1997). It is not clear, however, how EI will operate as an automatic stabilizer when effective coverage (the proportion of the unemployed who are eligible for benefits) is declining at a rapid pace. The combined effect of eligibility restrictions (hours of work required to qualify, the intensity rule and the differential clawback of benefits) has reduced considerably the ratio of beneficiaries to the unemployed. The reduction in the proportion of unemployed receiving UI benefits began before the implementation of UI. In 1990, 87% of the unemployed were UI beneficiaries (Canadian Labour Congress 1995:2). By January 1996, the ratio of beneficiaries to the unemployed had dropped to 46% (Hargrove 1996:A17). The new EI system represents an intensification of efforts already begun in this phase, accelerating the decline in entitlement, such that in 1996 the ratio of beneficiaries to unemployed dipped as low as 30.8% (Statistics Canada 1997).

Pulkingham’s (1997) analysis suggests that “in contrast to the view prevailing in the early 1970s when UI underwent significant amendment, reform 1990s-style rests on a rejection of the notion that an intensification of non-standard employment should be met with extended coverage and an expanded UI program.” Despite the increasing precariousness of stable, full-time employment the new system severely curtails entitlement and benefits. According to several analyses, the significance of UI reform is the government’s increasing preoccupation with the setting of market creating conditions pursued through labour market deregulation, reduced wage demands and average labour income, increased economic insecurity and the discipline of labour (Research and Education Departments of CAW-Canada 1997; Stanford 1997; Stanford 1995:137-138, 144; CCPA/Choices 1997; Pulkingham 1997).

(vi) Employment Insurance Income Benefits: Gender Impact

What are the gender effects of the income benefits of Bill C-12?

(a) Impact on women: According to the government’s own analysis of the impact of the reform (HRDC 1996a, HRDC 1996b), women bear a smaller share of the reduction in total benefits. In 1997/1998, benefits will be reduced by 7 percent (\$435 million) for women compared to 8 percent (\$780 million) for men. In 2001/2002, when the full package of reforms is to take effect, benefit reductions will amount to 9 percent (\$560 million) for women compared to 13 percent (\$1,365 million) for men (HRDC 1996a: Part A, Section 1, Page 5). However, as Pulkingham’s (1997) analysis emphasizes, the primary reason for the lower impact on women is because of their lower employment earnings (fewer women, for example,

are affected by the reduction in the MIE level and the benefit clawback). Also, men are much more likely to hold seasonal employment and therefore are more affected by the "intensity rule" (and the differential clawback). Further, because the differential impact of the reforms is small, there is only a slight increase in the proportion of EI benefits obtained by women. Women, then, will continue to receive fewer benefits with EI, because as with UI, it reflects labour market inequality.

Given the government's claims about the new legislation, where women might be expected to make more significant gains is in the extension of EI coverage to part-timers. But as the discussion above suggests, a very small percentage of part-timers actually gain as a result of the legislation. Hardest hit are new- and re-entrants to the labour force. Part-time workers and re-entrants, of course, are primarily women. Women who undertake part-time work do so largely because of childcare responsibilities. Childcare also is the main reason that they become "re-entrants" to the labour force. Pulkingham (1997) argues that these provisions compound the penalty effect on women for undertaking childcare responsibilities in terms of their subsequent access to employment insurance. Of the new entrants, young women (aged 15 to 24 years) who find themselves unemployed will be the most disadvantaged because they are the most likely to be in part-time work.

Overall part-time workers absorb a reduction in EI benefits of 19% compared to 10% for full-time workers (cited in Pulkingham, based on HRDC data). As Vosko (1996) points out, the image of the regular worker underpinning UI reform today is ironic: This image occurs precisely at a time when its elusiveness is intensifying. At the same time, irregular work is construed as an activity engaged in by choice rather than by necessity (1996:267). This is in spite of the fact that many women part-time workers are pursuing and accommodating demanding family-care (for children and elderly relatives) responsibilities, and that for an increasing proportion part-time employment is involuntary.

Women also stand to lose access to maternity and parental benefits because of the increased entrance requirements imposed by the new legislation (Section 22 and 23 of the EI Act). Previously, a claimant could qualify for these benefits on the basis of twenty weeks of work (of at least fifteen hours per week, equivalent to 300 hours of insurable employment). Now, claimants are required to work more than two times as many hours (700), equivalent to forty-seven weeks of work at fifteen hours per week.

(b) Impact on men: EI reform also has devastating consequences for men. Although the unemployment rate for men and women has risen significantly in the 1990s, and more men than women are covered by UI, male unemployment has risen much faster. As Pulkingham's (1997) analysis underlines, the debate about UI reform leading up to and including Bill C-12 was focused on defining and describing the problem of "frequent" users, and suggesting reform options that would reduce and or eliminate "repeater's" recourse to UI. The majority of frequent claimants are seasonal workers and men: two-thirds of frequent ("3 in 5" definition)

claimants were seasonal workers, of these almost two-thirds (64%) were male (HRDC, 1994b:25, 39); 60% of frequent claimants were male (HRDC 1994b: compiled from data in Table 4.1, p. 33); and male frequent claimants represented 44% of all UI claimants (this compares to a figure of 31% for females). Given the government's clear preference to target frequent claimants as the main mechanism for reforming UI, almost one-half of male, compared to one-third of female, UI claimants lose ground through lower (intensity rule) or no benefits (the intensity rule combined with the income-tested benefit clawback and/or more stringent entrance requirements).

The intent of the intensity rule (discussed above) on seasonal and frequent users (predominantly men) is relatively clear. Pulkingham (1997) suggests, however, that the intent and effect of the more restrictive entrance requirements is not as straightforward. As the above discussion suggests, the primary losers are part-time workers who, largely, are women. However, this provision affects indirectly seasonal and frequent claimants (predominantly men) who work full-time (for the periods of the year that they are employed) in high unemployment regions. On the one hand, the new legislation retains entrance requirements that are linked to regional unemployment rates: The lower the unemployment rate, the higher the entrance requirement (required number of hours of insurable employment) and vice versa. Additionally, these provisions involve no (apparent) change for those who work full-time (at least 35 hours per week). This appears to protect seasonal (full-time, part-year) workers in high unemployment regions. On the other hand, the government changed the way in which a "re-entrant" to the labour force is defined and increased substantially the entrance requirements for claimants so defined. The effect is to increase the number of workers who are defined as re-entrants (unless workers increase substantially their hours of employment) and require them to work longer hours in order to be entitled to benefits. It is this change in definition of re-entrant and the attendant qualifying requirements that will hit full-time part-year seasonal and frequent claimants in regions where the unemployment rate is more than 12%. Although these workers will qualify for benefits with fewer than 490 hours of insurable employment in their first claim under the new legislation, they will not be eligible for benefits in future claims if these claims are made in successive years with the same employment profile. Under these circumstances, by definition these workers would become "re-entrants," requiring 910 hours of insurable employment in order to qualify.

The effect of this will be felt most acutely in the Atlantic provinces, especially Newfoundland, where unemployment rates regularly exceed 12%. In the Atlantic provinces, 60% of UI claimants were "frequent" compared to a national average of 38% and seasonal claimants represented 58% of all claimants (HRDC 1994b: 34, 39). Importantly, in these four provinces almost two-thirds (64%) of all regular UI benefits were paid to frequent claimants (HRDC 1994b:34).

In spite of the fact that the purpose of the intensity rule for seasonal and frequent users (predominantly men) is relatively clear, there are indirect effects on women which tend to be

overlooked. Whereas women in general are targeted less directly by the intensity rule than their male counterparts, many (other than those who are themselves frequent claimants) stand to lose indirectly because of employment patterns and opportunities for them in regions where male seasonal work is centred. EI benefits constitute an important component of individual and family income in these regions which is key to local economies and the jobs they provide. In single industry communities which, for example, typifies the fishery, employment options for women are limited and largely derivative of the seasonal character of men's work. Although most women are concentrated in fish processing (itself seasonal), others are employed in jobs (non-seasonal) which are dependent on the economy of the fishery, including EI benefits paid in the off-season. Thus, in these communities, cuts to EI benefits through the intensity rule will affect both household members in two-parent families, targeting women both directly and indirectly.

(c) Shifting the basis of citizenship entitlements for women: As Pulkingham argues, "[t]he simultaneous coverage of all part-timers with more stringent eligibility requirements, together with penalties for other 'irregular' workers, points to a form of exclusion for women that is not based on their 'natural' or 'innate' role (for example, as mothers/housewives)." Rather, as several analyses point out in regard to developments in the welfare (income assistance) arena, women's exclusion is being transformed and now is predicated on their status as "workers" rather than as male dependents (Evans, 1996; Vosko 1996; Scott 1996). Upholding the principle of gender "equality" as a virtue, the gender impact analysis of the new legislation undertaken by Human Resources Development Canada (1996b:31) comments: "While it is true that a higher proportion of women than men will have to work more hours to qualify, the hours-based system . . . treats all workers the same."

As in other arenas (e.g., welfare regulations) the requirement to work (designation as "employable") is being fortified, regardless of domestic caring responsibilities (Scott 1996, Evans 1996; Brodie 1996). Pulkingham (1997) emphasizes that EI symbolizes a further shift from the post-war construction of citizenship for women based on their mothering capacity to one where they are defined as employable. Women, whose labour force participation does not conform to the full-time full-year ideal, are simply one category among a number of others who stand to lose through diminished EI entitlements/eligibility. Nevertheless, eligibility requirements are fashioned after a pattern of labour force participation (full-time, full-year) which, historically and in the present, is predicated on a male (adult, white) norm. Consequently, because women and youth are more likely to undertake non-standard, casualized employment, the effects of UI reform are not neutral in terms of gender or age.

Linkages:

- Changes to unemployment insurance through EI are linked to "active" measures in the welfare arena via workfare type strategies. CCPA/Choices draws attention to the fact that giving the provinces greater control over the employment benefits (training etc.)

component of EI, gives them indirect control over an individual's access to income benefits (formally an entitlement under federal jurisdiction). This is because claimants who are referred to an employment benefit under the Act can be cut off UI benefits if they refuse such a program, a decision for which there is no appeal process. The EI legislation does not prevent a province from using employment benefits for workfare or other kinds of forced labour programs.

(II) *Gaps in Research and Knowledge.*

- *labour market effects*: What is the impact of UI cuts in income support for the unemployed on labour markets (wages, employment, employment security)? (Stanford, CAW).
- *interaction effects*: What is the nature and impact of interactions between EI and provincial welfare programs?
- *longitudinal data*: What happens to individuals who experience reduced UI/welfare opportunities?
- *disentitlement*: How many are left without any financial support? What happens to those no longer counted in the unemployment statistics?
- *balance of power between workers and employers*: What is the impact of program changes on the position of the workforce in relation to employers? (Stanford, CAW)
- *interprovincial variations*: What is the impact on provinces of federal changes to UI? Systematic Comparable data is required.
- *workfare*: In what ways are workers' access to EI benefits impacted by the design and operation of "active" employment benefits? How does this pattern vary provincially?
- *gender effects of reform*: What is the nature and extent of infringements to women's citizenship rights and entitlements? Does the effect of the cuts disproportionately affect women's eligibility for maternity benefits? How best to provide maternity/parental benefits ?
- *family income testing*: What are the long-term effects of implementing a family income testing component to determine eligibility for a benefit supplement? How could income support programs be delivered in ways that would preserve women's economic autonomy, while maintaining fairness between families at different family income

levels? (Townson)

- *regional equity*: What will be the effect on the Atlantic provinces of reduced EI entitlements?
- What will be the impact on income levels and security from the UI/EI reforms, as well as the impacts at the level of the household as distinct from the individual worker?
- To what extent do families actually serve to insure the prospects of their component members, and to what extent can they buffer the shocks of the reduced UI benefit levels, durations, and accessibility?

Bibliography

Boessenkool, K. J. & W. B.P. Robson. 1997. *Ending the Training Tangle: The Case against Federal-Provincial Programs under EI*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Brodie, Janine. 1995. *Politics on the Margins. Restructuring an the Canadian Women's Movement*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Canadian Auto Workers. 1997. "The Jobs Crisis Continues..." *Economic & Social Action*. 3 (1). Toronto: Canadian Auto Workers.

CCPA/Choices. 1997. *Setting New Priorities: Jobs, investing in people, and a sustainable economy. The 1997 Alternative Federal Budget Framework Document*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative and Choices: A Coalition for Social Justice.

Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). 1996. *CCSD Response to Bill C-12 An Act Respecting Employment Insurance In Canada*. Ottawa: CCSD.

Canadian Labour Congress. 1995. "Federal Budget 1995: Canadian Labour Congress Analysis." Unpublished Brief. February 27.

Corak, Miles. 1994. "Unemployment Insurance, Work Disincentives, and the Canadian Labour Market: An Overview." in Christopher Green et al., *Unemployment Insurance: How to Make It Work*, The Social Policy Challenge 2. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Department of Finance. 1995. *Budget 1995*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Employment and Immigration Canada, 1994. *Unemployment Insurance Account: Forecasts from 1994 to 1998*. Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.

Evans, P. 1996. "Single Mothers and Ontario's Welfare Policy: Restructuring the Debate." in Janine Brodie (ed.) *Women and Canadian Public Policy*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace & Company, Canada.

Green, David. A. & Craig W. Riddell. 1993. "The Economic Effects of Unemployment Insurance in Canada: An Empirical Analysis of UI Disentitlementment." *Journal of Labor Economics*. 11(1) (2): S96-S147.

Greenspon, Edward. 1996. "Liberal MPs back softer blow to UI." *Globe & Mail*, April 19, 1996:A1.

Hargrove, Buz. 1996. "Whose unemployment-insurance surplus is it, anyway?" *Globe and Mail*, 18.3.96:A17.

House of Commons, Canada. 1995. Bill C-111. *An Act respecting employment insurance in Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Human Resources Development.

Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). 1994a. *Agenda: Jobs and Growth. Improving Social Security in Canada. A Discussion Paper*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1994b. *Improving Social Security in Canada. From Unemployment Insurance to Employment Insurance: A Supplementary Paper*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1995a. *A 21st Century Employment System for Canada. Guide to the Employment Insurance Legislation*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

_____. 1995b. *Minister Axworthy Announces New Employment Insurance Plan: New system will replace existing UI program*, News Release 95-79, December 1, 1995, Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995c. *Backgrounder 1. Overview of the Employment Insurance System*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995d. *Backgrounder 2. The Need for Change*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995e. *Backgrounder 3. Income Benefit and Employment Benefits*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995f. *Backgrounder 4: Clarifying the Federal Role in the Labour Market*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995g. *Backgrounder 5: The Transitional Jobs Fund*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995h. *Backgrounder 6: Managing the Transition*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1995i. *Backgrounder 7: Maximum Insurable Earnings and the Premium Rate*. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1996a. *Employment Insurance. Impacts of Reform*. Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Human Resources Development. January 23, 1996. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1996b. *Employment Insurance: Gender Impact Analysis*. Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Human Resources Development, January 24, 1996. Ottawa: HRDC.

_____. 1996c. *New Employment Insurance legislation takes effect July 2, 1996* (Press release 96-65). Ottawa: HRDC.

Jennissen, T. 1996. "The Federal Social Security Review, Process and Related Events (December 1993-June 1995): A Chronology." In J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Kessleman, J. 1993. "Ends and Means in Recasting UI, Welfare, Training, and Job Programs," in Elisabeth B. Reynolds, (ed) *Income Security in Canada: Changing Needs, Changing Means*,. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy: pp. 15-36.

Lin, Z. 1995. *Jobs Excluded from the Unemployment Insurance System in Canada: An Empirical Investigation*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada.

May, Doug & Alton Hollett. 1995. *The Rock in a Hard Place. Atlantic Canada and the UI Trap*. The Social Policy Challenge 9. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Nakamura, A. 1996. *Employment Insurance: A Framework for Real Reform*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Neis, Barbara. 1993. "From 'Shipped Girls' to 'Brides of the State': The Transition from Familial to Social Patriarchy in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*. XVI:2 (Summer),185-211.

Overton, Jim. 1995. " 'Original Intentions' and the War on UI: Newfoundland's Proposal for an Income Supplementation Program." *Canadian Review of Social Policy*. 36 (Winter):1-26.

Pulkingham, J. 1997. "Remaking the Social Divisions of Welfare: Gender, "Dependency," and UI Reform." *Studies in Political Economy*. Issue 56.

Scott, Katherine. 1996. "The Dilemma of Liberal Citizenship: Women and Social Assistance Reform in the 1990s." *Studies in Political Economy*. 50 (Summer):7-36.

Stanford, J. 1995. "Discipline, Insecurity and Productivity: The Economics Behind Labour Market 'Flexibility'." in J. Pulkingham & G. Ternowetsky (eds.) *Remaking Canadian Social*

Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Stanford, J. 1997. *Ontario's Job Crisis and its Link to the Provincial Deficit: A Look at the Evidence.* Toronto: Canadian Auto Workers.

Statistics Canada. 1997. "Regular Beneficiaries Without Earnings and Unemployed." *Unemployment Insurance Monthly Statistics.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada Labour Division.

Statistics Canada. 1995. *Women in Canada. A Statistical Report. Third Edition.* (Catalogue No. 89-503E) Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Statistics Canada. 1994. *Women in the Labour Force 1994 Edition.* (Catalogue 75-507E Occasional) Ottawa: Statistics Canada: Table 2.5:18.

Townson, Monica. 1995. *Our Aging Society: Preserving retirement incomes into the 21st century.* Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Vosko, L. 1996. "Irregular Workers, New Involuntary Social Exiles: Women and UI Reform." in J. Pulkingham & G. Ternowetsky (eds.) *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s.* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Walker, T. 1997. "(Un)Employment (Un)Insurance." email communication.

Pension Reform and the Retirement Income System.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

Research in this arena consists largely of critiques of policy reforms that are yet to take effect. These analyses consider the likely impact of and the rationales for the particular reforms.

In keeping with reforms in other income security arenas, pension reform in the latter part of the 1990s is taking action to limit the role of the social safety net, in this instance for seniors, in the twenty-first century (Prince 1997). Analyses show that the emphasis is on smaller government, privatization, individual initiative, and market-driven solutions (Townson 1997a). As in other arenas, federal government budgets ("blue books") are the vehicle by which major changes are announced. Unlike other income security programs, current recipients--today's seniors--largely will be spared the full impact of changes, thus minimizing opposition to the reforms.

The preoccupation of pension reform in the 1990s--whether coverage and benefit levels should be improved by expanding the private or public systems--revisits territory covered during the so-called "Great Canadian Pension Debate" of the late 1970s and early 1980s (Prince 1997). The debate today is accentuated by the intensity of the more recent politics of debt and deficit reduction and the perception of an inexorable demographic pressure. As a result, the emphasis this time around is on the rising costs of the public pension system rather than the well-being of Canada's elderly (Townson 1997a; Battle 1996). Another major difference between then and now is that whereas many proposals were put forward in the earlier debate, major pension reform did not ensue. In contrast, today some of the more restrictive recommendations and proposals put forward earlier are being enacted. Key among these is the 1997 announcement of the new Seniors Benefit (Prince 1997; Prince 1996) scheduled to take effect in 2001. The federal government also is reforming the Canada Pension Plan with changes to be in place January 1, 1998. In both instances, the government is pursuing reforms on the premise that elderly benefit programs crowd out other programs and are at risk of financial collapse because they are too costly over the long-run (Townson 1997a; NAC 1997; Prince 1997; Government of Canada 1996).

2. Limiting the Rising Costs of Public Pensions.

The government claims that the cost of the first tier of public pensions will grow by 60% in the next 15 years because of population aging (Minister of Finance 1996). Regarding

intergenerational equity, the government also questions whether young Canadians will be willing and/or able to support the public pension system without the kinds of reforms the government is undertaking with regard to the first tier and the CPP. This position is echoed in analyses such as the recently released report by the British-North America Committee (BNAC) *A BNAC Policy Statement on Pension Reform* (1997) and several studies by Robson (1997, 1996a, 1996b) which recommend a number of changes to the public pension system in order to reduce the pressure of state pensions on the living standards of younger workers. Whether long-term costs of public pensions are as high and unsustainable as the government claims is the subject of much analysis. In addition, many analysts question whether the reforms actually will secure the savings the government projects.

Regarding the long-term costs of public pensions, several analyses suggest that the government is overstating grossly the growth trend/unsustainability trajectory. This overstatement is rooted primarily in two factors. One factor is the government's failure to account accurately the income tax revenue it would have obtained from such benefits as OAS (which is a taxable benefit) if they were to remain in place (Wolfson and Murphy 1997). While population aging does mean the costs of the program will rise, over the same time period these elderly will pay a larger share of taxes because both the tax rates and the benefit eligibility thresholds (for the OAS clawback) are not fully indexed. In effect, the means of financing the rising costs of the OAS would come from increased revenue and income redistribution among the elderly themselves.

The second factor concerns misrepresenting the economic significance of the increased dependence of elderly persons in the population (Dickinson 1996; Wolfson and Murphy 1997). Dickinson (1996) suggests that while Canada's retired population will be larger, its dependent population may not be (with fewer dependent children and teenagers offsetting somewhat the rise in retirees). In addition, a rise in the standard of living (achievable if productivity increases at 1 percent annually, as official projections forecast) could mean that future workers will be able to support a larger retired population than today's workers. To put this analysis in a comparative frame, Wolfson and Murphy (1997) refer to several studies by the International Monetary Fund and the OECD which suggest that Canada will have the lowest economic burden for public pensions among the G7 countries when the babyboomers are supposed to have their most detrimental impact in terms of economic dependency ratios.

Regarding the projected savings the government claims it will achieve through introduction of the Seniors Benefit, Townson (1997a) questions the government's assumptions and its failure to take into account the interaction effects with other parts of the retirement income system and the changing labour market. For example, reduced retirement and disability pensions from the altered CPP might increase the numbers qualifying for the income-tested Seniors Benefit as time goes by (1997a:11). At the same time, future changes in the labour market may diminish individual ability/opportunity to build private retirement savings again potentially increasing the number of claimants for the Seniors Benefit. Current labour market trends may exacerbate

the present situation where coverage of occupational pension plans is declining, RRSP use is low and there is a growing tendency to cash in these savings well before retirement. Between 1991 and 1995, only 18% of Canadians aged between 25 and 64 contributed regularly to RRSPs in each year. In 1995, an amount equivalent to one-fifth of RRSP contributions for the year were cashed in by people under 65 years, almost one-half of whom were under 45 years. Less than one-half the work force is covered by a workplace pension plan (RPP). The government's analysis and rationale appears to take no account of the possibility that demand for the Seniors Benefit might increase disproportionately rather than hold constant or diminish over time.

These concerns appear to be supported by a recently released study from Statistics Canada (December 1997) which finds that the gap between the rich and the poor is widening at an unprecedented pace in the mid-1990s, reversing the holding pattern in income distribution observed over the past two decades. Between 1995 and 1996, the poorest one-fifth of Canadian families lost 3.1% of their income, an average of more than \$500, while the income of the richest one-fifth grew by 1.8%, an average of more than \$2,000 (Statistics Canada 1997). The study, reported in Statistics Canada *The Daily* for 1997-12-22, notes the following:

"Generally, changes in family income can be attributed to labour market conditions, as almost 80% of total family income comes from employment. The Labour Force Survey indicates that employment grew by 1.3% in 1996, contrasting with the more robust growth of 2.1% in 1994, the last year of significant improvement in family income. As well, only one-half of the employment growth in 1996 was full time. The trend to self-employment may have been a factor also, since self-employed persons tend to earn less, on average, than paid workers. In addition, the earnings of many workers did not increase in 1996, while gains were generally small for others. The Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours reported that average weekly earnings grew by 0.6% in 1996 after adjustment for inflation. In 1996, transfers continued to decline, particularly Employment Insurance and social assistance payments. As a result, 1996 was the third straight year that the proportion of family income from transfers decreased, to 11.7% of total income, from the peak of 12.9% in 1993. The decline in government transfer payments was of particular significance for lower income families since over half of their income comes from this source."

Even among those considered to be Liberal supporters, the consensus is that the reforms in the pension arena are driven more by ideology than by fiscal necessity. Hence Prince (1997: 222) concludes the following: "... the evidence does not support the Liberals' intimation that the elderly benefit programs are crowding out other programs, nor their claim that these programs are at imminent risk of financial collapse. Rather, the federal government is taking action to limit the role of the social safety net for seniors in the twenty-first century: It is lowering the boom on the boomers."

3.1. The Seniors Benefit.

Heralded as the “most significant policy initiative on elderly benefits in the past 30 years,” (Prince 1997: 218) the Seniors Benefit will replace the Old Age Security (OAS), Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS), the Age Credit and the Pension Income Credit and will take effect in 2001. Taking the form of a “super GIS” (Battle 1996a; 1993), the new benefit is:

- targeted to seniors with “average” and “low” *family income* (the benefit will be income tested on a family basis, with each spouse receiving a separate and equal monthly cheque in eligible families);
- the benefit and the income threshold will be fully indexed to the rate of inflation (prices);
- the benefit will be tax-free;
- for the lowest income seniors the benefit rate (for couples and singles alike) will be \$120 more per year (equivalent to \$10 per month, or 17¢ a day) than these seniors would receive through the OAS and GIS combined.

3.2. Commentary/Critique of the Seniors Benefit.

(i) Narrowing the Form of Citizenship-based Entitlement

Several features of the proposed benefit signify a marked departure from the principles of the OAS operating since 1952. As Prince (1997: 223) suggests, the Seniors Benefit:

- provides a narrower form of citizenship-based entitlement to income support than the OAS;
- represents the disappearance of horizontal equity in an elderly benefit system premised on the value that all seniors regardless of their income have a right to income support as seniors;
- adopts an explicit selective approach focusing on vertical equity thus reducing the program’s constituency for near-seniors and future generations of seniors.

(ii) Family Income Testing

Family income testing also represents a marked departure from the existing program (notably this is a feature that recently has been introduced for the first time to Employment Insurance

benefits as well). Some (Prince 1997; Battle 1996a) defend this development arguing that the proposed benefit will not have a detrimental impact on women because each spouse in eligible households will be paid a separate cheque of an equal amount. In contrast, other analyses (Baldwin & Townson 1996; Townson 1997a; NAC 1997; together with seniors' advocacy groups such as One Voice, the Canadian Association of Retired Persons and the Retirement Income Coalition) suggest that the family income test will probably make many women worse-off during their earlier retirement years prior to the death of their spouse, because their eligibility for a Seniors Benefit will be determined by the combined income of their own and that of their spouse. Consequently, many women who have low individual incomes stand to lose access to an independent source of income when they are in a relationship with a middle to high income earning partner. This is considered to be problematic because it cannot be assumed that resources are equitably shared within the family/between the spouses. "...[S]witching to a benefit based on family income clearly undermines the economic autonomy of women. It also assumes that married women have equal access to income within the family, and there is increasing evidence that this is not necessarily the case-- particularly in families where there is spousal abuse" (Townson 1997a:9).

(iii) Tax-back Rates

Another contentious aspect of the proposed benefit is the tax-back rates. Many analysts (on both the "right" and "left") consider these to rise too steeply and quickly (Slater 1997; Townson 1997a). Whereas poor seniors who currently receive the GIS already face similar high effective marginal tax rates on their pension income, this practice will be extended to middle- and higher-income seniors with OAS being collapsed into the new Seniors Benefit-- a GIS type benefit. With the new benefit, lower income seniors face an effective tax-back of 50% on other sources of retirement income up to an income level of \$12,520 for singles and \$16,560 for couples. A tax-back rate of 20% applies to other sources of retirement income above \$25,921 for both singles and couples (until total income reaches \$51,721 or \$77,521 respectively). "Since many of these moderate income seniors will also have to pay income tax on their other sources of retirement income, their effective marginal tax rates will be higher than those faced by corporate executives with six and seven digit salaries (Townson 1997a:19). In addition, the fear of many financial planners and actuaries is that this will severely depress the incentive for middle-income seniors to save for retirement (Slater 1997). Some (Prince 1997; Townson 1997; Battle 1996b) find irony in the response of the political right on this matter. Prince (1997:227), for example, observes: "[i]t is ironic, in these socially conservative times, that various financial interests are treating the Seniors Benefit as an entitlement rather than as a safety net program in relation to income, and are bemoaning the inevitable effects of selectivity, a principle that these groups have long promoted. The reduction rates associated with income-tested programs have now become marginal clawback rates, and the targeting of benefits represents tax increases."

(iv) The Seniors Benefit: Protecting or Marginalizing Canada's Elderly?

Prince and others (cf. Battle 1996a; 1994; 1993) suggest that a targeted benefit like the Seniors Benefit protects the saliency of the elderly as a "distinctive status group" because they will have a right to income security protection "outside of the marketplace, based on age and income, provided by the national political community" (Prince 1997:224). These analyses suggest that as a targeted benefit the Seniors Benefit will be a more progressive benefit in terms of income redistribution.

Arguably, the significance of the elderly as a constituency of social policies is underlined by the full indexing of the proposed benefit and the income threshold for determining eligibility. Full indexing stands in marked contrast both to the status quo where the OAS, the Age Credit and the Pension Income Credit are either partly or not at all indexed and to current reforms in other areas, e.g., the new National Child Benefit (Prince 1997) where benefits and thresholds are partially indexed.

Other analyses (cf. Townson 1997; NAC 1997; Slater 1997; Myles 1994;) are not so sanguine about the impact of the kinds of changes that will be brought about by the proposed benefit. Townson (1997a), for example, points to features of the benefit itself as well as the ramifications of changes to the other tier (C/QPP) of public pensions on the new benefit which do not portend well for future low and middle income seniors, in particular, women seniors. In terms of the benefit itself, problematic features include the already mentioned effect of family income testing and the tax-back rate, as well as the fact that full indexing is tied to changes in prices rather than wages (the former are projected to rise much more slowly therefore disadvantaging the standard of living of those dependent on this income source relative to the rest of the population, Wolfson and Murphy 1997; Burbidge 1996), and the threshold levels at which people become ineligible for benefits are set too low. Although the Seniors Benefit is a targeted benefit and in this narrow sense more "progressive" than a universal benefit, it operates in conjunction with other pension provisions which also are being changed. The changes brought about to the CPP (discussed in more detail below) and semi-private retirement provisions arguably cancel out the "progressivity" implied in the Seniors Benefit.

4.1. The Canada/Quebec Pension Plan.

In February 1996 the government set out changes to the Canada Pension Plan, followed a year later (February 1997) by further changes outlined in the document "Securing the Canada Pension Plan: Agreement on Proposed Changes to the CPP" (Government of Canada 1997). The changes outlined in this latter document meet the requirements of the CPP legislation which stipulates that any changes to the Plan must be approved by two-thirds of the provinces having two-thirds of the population. In this instance, eight provinces agreed while two (British

Columbia and Saskatchewan) dissented. On September 25 1997, the Minister of Finance tabled Bill C-2, "An Act to establish the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board and to amend the Canada Pension and the Old Age Security Act and to make consequential amendments to other Acts." Passage of this bill will impose an increase in CPP contributions retroactive to January 1, 1997.

The changes to the CPP include:

- raising the contribution rates (from 5.85% to 9.9% of pensionable earnings between 1998 and 2003) for funding the plan. This represents a 69% increase;
- creating a large investment fund to be invested in the capital markets (arguably to allow the plan to earn higher returns). The creation of this fund is made possible by accelerating the rate of increase in CPP contributions in the next five years, then allowing the rate to remain at the level reached;
- reducing benefits e.g., restrictions on disability benefits and a reduction in retirement pensions (basing pensions on the average of maximum pensionable earnings over the last five working years rather than the last three) and survivor benefits to slow the growth of costs;
- increasing the contribution base by freezing the years basic exemption, which is \$3,500 and indexed to wages. This means that the exemption will decline in value over time, thus lowering the real basic exemption each year.

4.2. Commentary/Critique of Changes to the CPP Through Bill C-2.

(i) Social Policy Reform by Stealth: Freezing the Years Basic Exemption

Prince (1997) points out that deindexing the years basic exemption (freezing it at its current level of \$3,500), an example of social policy by stealth, will adversely affect low income and part-time workers. Over time, the value of this threshold will decline so that workers pay contributions on a greater portion of their income up to the maximum pensionable earnings ceiling, "imposing what amount to a hidden payroll tax increase on low-income earners." (1997:230) As the NAC analysis (1997) and Townson (1997a) point out, women are overrepresented among the low-income and part-time workers who will be adversely affected by this redistribution of the contribution payment structure.

(ii) The Move from a Pay-as-You-Go System to Partial Funding and the Investment Fund

Bill C-2 provides for sharply increasing the contribution rate in order to create approximately five years' worth of benefits over the next two decades which are to be invested in the market. Presently the CPP reserves a two year contingency fund invested in non-marketable provincial bonds. The assumption is that investment in the market will bring a higher rate of return than the CPP achieved in the past and that a move toward fuller funding will increase savings, investments and national economic growth (Government of Canada 1996). The intention is that investment returns (the real rate of return is projected to average 4% a year) will be used to supplement contribution revenues so that contribution rates can be maintained at a combined employer/employee rate of 9.9% for ever.

The move to partial funding and the establishment of a market investment fund goes part way to meeting the demands of business-inspired analyses which have pushed for full funding of pensions (BNAC 1997; Robson 1997, 1996a) and/or privatization of the CPP by replacing it with mandatory RRSPs (Pesando 1997; Robson 1996a, 1996b). Fuller funding and/or privatization is argued to ensure a higher rate of return which in turn is argued to increase savings and lead to higher national income.

Critics of the move to partial funding question the assumptions behind and motivations of this component of CPP reform. Townson (1997a) points to the 1994 World Bank study *Averting the Old Age Crisis* which suggests that there is no conclusive evidence to support conversion of pay-as-you-go plans toward fuller funding on the basis of improving economic impacts in the longer term. The study (1994: 309) notes that there are few empirical studies examining the impact of fully funded pension schemes in savings and "even fewer have tested the effect of a switch from pay-as-you-go to fully funded, because until 1994 only Chile had made that switch." This analysis is supported by Burbidge (1996). Other research (Dickinson 1996; Baldwin 1997; Townson 1997a, 1996) also challenges the perception/assertion that the real rate of return for contributors to the CPP is/will be very low, or even negative, without the reforms. Another concern is the projected growth rate of the investment fund: Some critics suggest that this cannot be counted on, and point to ongoing financial crises in Asian markets and Canada-made debacles (for example, Bre-X) as evidence of the risks associated with investing in the markets.

(iii) Differential Impact on Women

NAC's (1997) analysis of Bill C-2 argues that changes are being undertaken without any regard for the disproportionate negative impact they will have on women. Given that women are over represented among low-income and non-standard workers, changes to the CPP which place a greater burden on low income workers for financing the CPP (freezing the Years Basic Exemption, YBE) and reductions in retirement pensions, in particular those which go overwhelmingly to women, will adversely affect women. Critical of a number of features of

the changes outlined above, the analysis also points to the particularly regressive impact on women of the move to reduce combined pensions: “[A]bout 84% of those who receive a combined retirement and survivor benefit are women. And 81% of those who receive a combined survivor/disability benefit are women. To restrict these benefits, therefore is clearly a measure aimed directly at women...[especially] women with disabilities” (1997:9).

While the government ostensibly undertook a “gender analysis” of the changes to CPP in the form of a paper “Gender Implications of Changes to the Canada Pension Plan,” (dated February 1997, made public only in November 1997), NAC suggests the basis of the analysis is entirely flawed and cannot be considered as a “serious gender analysis” (1997:6). Echoing Townson’s (1997a) concern regarding the government’s failure to consider the interaction of reforms with labour market trends, NAC (1997:6) suggests that the gender analysis paper reflects “a complete lack of understanding or information about the disadvantages women face in the paid labour force and in society generally.” Flawed assumptions include overly optimistic expectations about labour market trends and patterns in childbearing/rearing which are purported to mean that the difference between the benefits women and men obtain will narrow in the future.

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

- *Horizontal equity.* The eclipse of horizontal equity from the Canadian income security system (formalized in the pensions arena with the proposed elimination of the OAS and introduction of the Seniors Benefit) warrants fuller examination by policy analysts and social advocates (Prince 1997:234).
- *Income redistribution.* What is the nature and degree of income redistribution under the current pension arrangement (CPP, OAS/GIS, private pensions) in comparison to redistribution that will take place under the reformed pension arrangement (Seniors Benefit, revamped CPP and private pensions)? (Andrew Mitchell, Metro Toronto Social Planning Council, survey response)
- *Gender analysis.* What is the impact on women’s future financial security of pension policy reforms? (Townson 1997a)
- *Family-income testing.* Does the shift to family-income testing for social programs undermine women’s economic autonomy? How could income support programs be delivered in ways that would preserve women’s economic autonomy, while maintaining fairness between families at different family income levels? (Townson 1997b:9)
- *The impact of marriage (or a relationship) on women’s economic autonomy.* What are

the consequences of assuming women have economic autonomy when the reality is otherwise? For instance, what is the potential impact of proposals to eliminate or seriously curtail surviving spouse benefits in the CPP “because women now have their own pensions”? (Townson 1997b: 9)

- *Ability to save-- individual savings.* What will be the differential effect of the reforms to pensions on individual ability to save? Who will be able to save individually for retirement?
- *Interaction effects of different components of the income retirement system.* What will be the impact on the number of Seniors Benefit claimants if coverage of occupational pension plans continues to decline; if the low use of RRSPs continues; and if people continue to cash in RRSP savings before retirement? (Townson 1997a: 11-12)

Bibliography

Baldwin, B. & M. Townson. 1996. "Background Note on Public Pensions" prepared for the Alternative Federal Budget, 1997-98, December 18, 1996: Ottawa: CCPA and CHOICES: A Coalition for Social Justice.

Banting, K. & R. Boadway (eds.) *Reform of Retirement Income Policy: International and Canadian Perspectives*. Kingston, Ontario: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University.

Battle, K. 1996. "Why Solange Denis Smiled: Public Pension Reform in the 1990s." *Canadian Review of Social Policy*. 38(Autumn): 125-138.

Battle, K. 1993. *Thinking the Unthinkable: A Targeted, Not Universal, Old Age Pension*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

Battle, K. 1994. *Reply to John Myles (Old Wine in New Bottles....)*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

British-North American Committee 41. 1997. *Policy Statement on Pension Reform*. (October). Toronto, Washington, DC, and London: British-North American Committee.

Burbidge, J.B., J. Cutt, P. Dickinson, L. Newman, M.J. Prince, C. Ragan and W.B.P. Robson. 1996. *When We're 65: Reforming Canada's Retirement Income System*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Burbidge, J.B. 1996. "Public Pension in Canada." in J. B. Burbidge, J. Cutt, P. Dickinson, L. Newman, M.J. Prince, C. Ragan and W.B.P. Robson. 1996. *When We're 65: Reforming Canada's Retirement Income System*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Canadian Association of Retired Persons. 1997. *The Black and Blue Book: The Bruising of Seniors*.

Canadian Association of Retired Persons. 1997. *The Seniors Benefit: A Flawed Proposal*.

Dickinson, P. 1996. "Six Common Misperceptions about the Canada Pension Plan." in J.B. Burbidge, J. Cutt, P. Dickinson, L. Newman, M.J. Prince, C. Ragan and W.B.P. Robson. 1996. *When We're 65: Reforming Canada's Retirement Income System*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Government of Canada. 1996. *An Information Paper for Consultation on the Canada Pension Plan*. Released by the federal, provincial and territorial governments (February). Ottawa:

Department of Finance

Government of Canada. 1997. *Securing the Canada Pension Plan: Agreement on Proposed Changes to the CPP*. (February). Ottawa: Department of Finance.

Minister of Finance. 1996. *Budget Plan*. March 6. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

Myles, J. 1994. *Old Wine in New Bottles: Privatizing Old Age Pensions*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy.

National Action Committee on the Status of Women. 1997. *Women and Public Pensions*. Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance on Bill C-2 "An Act to Create the Canada Pension Plan Investment Board. (November 19).

National Council of Welfare. 1996. *Improving the Canada Pension Plan*. (Autumn).
Pesando, J.E. 1997. *From Tax Grab to Retirement Saving: Privatizing the CPP Premium Hike*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Prince, M. 1997. "Lowering the Boom on the Boomers: Replacing Old Age Security with the New Seniors Benefit and Reforming the Canada Pension Plan," in G. Swimmer (ed.) 1997. *How Ottawa Spends 1997-8. Seeing Red: A Liberal Report Card*. Carleton: Carleton University Press.)

Prince, M. "Historical Analysis of Public Pension Schemes in Canada," in L. Newman, M. Prince & J. Cutt. 1996. *Reforming the Public Pension System in Canada: Retrospect and Prospect*. Victoria Papers in Public Policy No. 1. Victoria, BC: Centre for Public Sector Studies, University of Victoria.

Robson, W.B.P. 1997. *The Future of Pension Policy: Individual Responsibility and State Support*. (October). Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Robson, W.B.P. 1996a. *Ponzi's Pawns: Young Canadians and the Canada Pension Plan*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Robson, W.B.P. 1996b. *Putting Some Gold in the golden Years: Reforming the Canada Pension Plan*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Townson, M. 1997a. *Myth vs. Reality: Protecting Public Pensions*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Townson, M. 1997b. *Women and the Economy: Long-term policy research issues*. Prepared

for Status of Women Canada. March.

Townson, M. 1995. *Reforming the Canada Pension Plan: The Implications for Women*. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Slater, D.W. 1997. *The Pension Squeeze: The Impact of the March 1996 Federal Budget*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Statistics Canada. 1997. *Income distribution by size in Canada, 1996*. Catalogue Number 13-207-XPB.

Wolfson, M. & B. Murphy. 1997. "Aging and Canada's Public Sector: Retrospect and Prospect," in K. Banting & R. Boadway (eds.) *Reform of Retirement Income Policy: International and Canadian Perspectives*. Kingston, Ontario: School of Policy Studies, Queen's University.

[B] Labour Market Policies: Delineating and Evaluating Work/Employment Incentives.

Job Creation and Training.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

The provision of stable full-time employment, reflected in the principle of "full employment," was a key income security objective of the Keynesian Welfare State (see discussion in Section 1). But the context of job creation efforts and job training programs in the 1990s is the radical restructuring of the labour market reflected in persistently high unemployment rates, underemployment, historically low levels of labour force participation, declining employment rates, and the growth of non-standard jobs, in particular part-time and self-employment (Stanford 1997; CAW 1997; Betcherman & Lowe 1997; Pulkingham & Ternowetsky 1997, 1996). What is remarkable about these features is not their coincidence with economic recession and stagnation (a problem during the first two-thirds of the decade), but their persistence in a period of "economic recovery" and faster job creation.

This section presents a very brief review of research that focuses on issues of job creation and training measures in today's unemployment context. Therefore, this review begins with a more detailed discussion of the trends outlined above.

2. Unemployment and the Jobs Crisis.

(i) The Individualization of Risk

A recent report on the social and economic forces shaping work transformations suggests that a "pervasive public anxiety" exists regarding jobs, the economy and our ability to cope with change (Betcherman & Lowe 1997). This study *The Future of Work in Canada* locates the cause of the anxiety in the *individualization of risk* associated with current trends of high unemployment, downsizing and industrial restructuring. The fact is that individuals, families and communities are shouldering more responsibility. The individualization of risk occurs because the "anchors" in place for much of the postwar period have disintegrated. These anchors include the "social safety net," unemployment insurance and stable employment relations. In another report (Government of Canada/Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 1997) Betcherman comments "[I]n the industrial paradigm of the postwar

decades, the notion of security involved protection from change. This notion clearly is being redefined in the emerging postindustrial paradigm, with security now being viewed as the ability to change"(cited in HRDC 1997a: 20).

According to Betcherman & Lowe (1997) these trends have disturbing long-range implications if they are left unchecked. Others reach a stronger conclusion. For example, Stanford (1997, 1996) and CAW (1997) argue that these trends reflect a policy of permanent recession "committed to deliberately maintaining high levels of unemployment in order to discipline labour and undermine wage demands." The situation is described as a manufactured jobs crisis which will be made worse by recent reforms to EI.

The key problem trends identified in the research include:

- The official unemployment rate: At 9%, the unemployment rate remains stubbornly high.
- Labour force participation: In the summer of 1997, only 64.7% of working-age adults in Canada were either employed or "actively" seeking work. This proportion has declined sharply since 1990 to its lowest level in 15 years. "Discouraged" workers explain the declining participation rate. These are unemployed, working age adults who have given up on looking for a job, not because they do not want employment but because after extensive search they have been unable to find the kind of employment they are seeking. CAW (1997:2) refers to these people as "labour market refugees."
- The adjusted unemployment rate: The exclusion of "discouraged" workers from the unemployment figures artificially lowers the unemployed count. If discouraged workers are included, the unemployment rate jumps to 13% (CAW 1997).
- The employment rate: This measures the share of working-age Canadians employed at any point in time. This rate has been declining steadily since 1989 and now stands at 58.5%.
- Youth unemployment and labour force participation: The situation for young people is considerably worse. The official unemployment rate for those under 25 years of age is almost double (16%) that for the population as a whole. But steep declines in labour force participation (from 71% in 1989) above the average, to 61% in 1997 (well below the average) suggest that young workers are much more likely to be "discouraged." As a result, the adjusted unemployment rate reflects a much higher rate of unemployment, over 30%, for young people (CAW 1997). Rhenby & McBride (1997) explore the ramifications of youth unemployment in greater detail in their study *Help Wanted: economic security for youth*.

- Non-standard employment: Part-time, part-year, own account self-employment and multiple job holding are all increasing trends while full-time employment is declining. The changes taking place in the 1990s are significant. For example, since 1991, 60% of all new jobs created have been self-employed. According to Rhenby & McBride (1997: 13) the increase in non-standard employment in the 1990s has had a profound impact on young women in particular: "The percentage of employed 15-24 year-old women in such jobs increased from 49% to 64% between 1989 and 1994," while the equivalent increase for young men was from 41% to 52%. Accompanying this transformation in work is the polarization of incomes, job conditions and work hours (Betcherman & Lowe 1997; Stanford 1996).
- The cost of job loss (CJL): The degree of economic insecurity brought about by scaling back income support programs can be measured in terms of the "cost of job loss." This measures the income a person can expect to lose, on average, if they lose their job. According to Stanford (1996: 145) the cost of job loss for Canadian workers has tripled since the mid-1970s, and for the first time significantly exceeds that of the US.

3. *Job Creation.*

(i) Enhancing Labour Market Flexibility

High unemployment is attributed to a number of factors. Key among these is the purported sluggish adaptation of labour markets to economic change. Canada's high unemployment is often compared unfavourably to that in the US and the difference explained in terms of greater rigidity on the part of Canada's labour market. Stanford's (1996) analysis suggests that, on the contrary, Canada's labour market is hyper-flexible, more flexible than that of the US and the difference between the US and Canada is widening with Canada's labour market become more flexible more quickly. According to his analysis, key to this process (of making the labour market more flexible) is the scaling back of income support programs. Income support programs like EI are targeted because they assist Canadian labour in retaining bargaining power, despite the integration of Canada into a global economy. Although average wages have declined in Canada, the pace of this decline is considerably slower than in the US. This analysis suggests that rather than an increase in real flexibility or a reduction in unemployment, cuts to income support programs will be reflected in a marked decline in the wages of employed persons.

(ii) Tax Cuts

In today's economy, under the sway of neoliberal influences, tax cuts (payroll, income tax and corporation income tax) typically are presented as the one of the few effective and legitimate ways to create jobs. In addition, the pressure to cut taxes is mounting as public debate focuses

on what to do with the "fiscal dividend" arising from operating without a deficit. Should this "windfall" go to paying down the debt, increasing funding for services or cutting taxes? The research is divided on the question of the effectiveness of tax cuts in creating jobs. For example, Bedard (1997) looks at the impact of three payroll taxes (CPP, QPP and UI) on employment. This research suggests that between 1984 and 1993, the combined employer/employee contributions increased by three percentage points to 9% of total wages and salaries. The effect of this increase, according to the author's estimates, was a decrease of 0.2% to 0.5% of total employment. This translates into a loss of 26,000 to 56,000 full-time jobs and a decrease of 4,000 to 9,000 part-time jobs. Similarly, Boessenkool & Robson (1997) argue that the federal government should get out of the business of financing training through EI funds in order to lower premiums and thus generate jobs in the economy.

Others point out that higher taxes do not automatically lead to higher levels of unemployment. As Shillington (1996) and Stanford (1996) demonstrate, Canada's reliance on payroll taxes is much less than in the US and European countries yet these countries have much lower unemployment rates. A recent study by Informetrica (Sonnen 1997) suggests that tax cuts are an inefficient way to create jobs. This study suggests that direct government spending has a much bigger job-creation impact than does tax cuts. According to this study, \$1 billion directed toward new government hiring would lead to 25,000 jobs in the first year (if directed to health or education; if directed to child care it would create 46,000 jobs). In contrast, the same amount of money directed towards a personal income tax cut would create only 9,000 jobs (or 10,000 jobs if the cuts were to payroll taxes).

(iii) Earnings Supplements and Employment Subsidies

A recent "innovation" in job creation tactics is to provide subsidies/supplements as an incentive for employers to provide jobs (subsidizing their cost of labour) or for employees to take up low paying jobs (supplementing market wages). The Earnings Supplement Project (ESP) is a multi-site demonstration project testing the use of financial incentives designed to speed up the re-employment of displaced workers and repeat users of EI. The study (Bloom et al 1997) provides workers who left EI for full-time work (within a specified time frame) which paid less than their previous one. Eligible recipients in the study could receive a supplement that made up 75% of the earnings loss for up to two years. Findings of this study suggest that the behaviour of displaced workers and repeat users of EI are very different. Displaced workers are much more likely to participate in the project. Also, their take-up rate was higher (at 16%) than repeat EI-users (take up rate of 4%). The study concludes that this kind of financial incentive has no effect on the labour market behaviour of repeat EI-users and *might* have an impact on displaced workers. The actual impact can only be measured by subsequent employment, earnings and EI benefit receipt of those who received the supplement (in comparison to a control group who do not receive the supplement). This type of data is currently being collected by Statistics Canada. In addition, Kesselman (forthcoming) is undertaking research on this topic for the Institute for Research on Public Policy (Montreal).

4. Job Training.

One of the prevailing explanations for the high unemployment rate is that much unemployment today is structural. This explanation refers to the purported "skills mismatch" between the capabilities of available workers and the requirements of jobs. Hence the emphasis on job training and education. Stanford (1996) points out that the concern that Canadian workers are not prepared for high technology jobs is true only for a few narrow occupations. Pointing to federal government projections which suggest that almost one-half of the jobs to be created between 1995 and 1996 require only a high school education, he argues that the structural basis of the unemployment problem is exaggerated.

Nevertheless, the provision of training, not least because of the link between receiving training and eligibility for UI/EI income benefits, is a critical issue. Implementation of EI brought about significant changes to the federal government's role in the provision of training. The number of labour market tools, to be administered through a new fund, the Human Resources Investment Fund (HRIF), have been reduced in number from 39 to 5. The five tools-- pared down versions of existing programs-- are: targeted earning supplements (delayed), targeted wage subsidies, skills loans and grants (delayed pending provincial agreements), self-employment, job creation partnerships, and training purchases (to take effect in July 1999). Significantly, the federal government will be substantially decreasing the amount of training it purchases for the unemployed while transferring moneys to the provinces for "local" initiatives. Direct federal presence in this arena will be restricted to labour market information, labour exchanges and job-banking.

The devolution of major responsibilities from the federal government to the provinces in the area of training/retraining raises a number of issues about the nature, scope, and effectiveness of the services that will be provided. Analysis (CCPA/Choices 1997) of the new legislation points to the following concerns about the new HRIF:

- It will reduce and ultimately eliminate all funding previously allocated for equity-group initiatives;
- it will confine eligibility to UI and former UI recipients, denying assistance to social assistance recipients;
- it lacks any national standards so that provinces and municipalities can set different rules for access and benefits;
- it will shift most of the costs of training to individuals through the introduction of a loan system.

Access to training is already considered to be very problematic. Since the early 1980s, when 83% of the labour force were eligible for training and related services, only 55% now are eligible (and in Ontario, only 29% are eligible) (CCPA/Choices 1997: 58). Concern about devolution is heightened also because of the emphasis on privatizing and commercializing the provision of training. For example, Jennings (1996) study of employer-sponsored training in Canada is a cautionary note on the promise of this devolutionary trend in employment training. Jennings finds that while more than one-half of training courses are supported (in full or part) by employers, these training programs exacerbate the gap in skills between the more and less educated: those who already have considerable formal education/schooling also get the most out of employer investments in training. In addition, lower income individuals and women fare least well at the hands of employer investments in training. According to an HRDC (1996a: 6) summary of the research, "[t]his ARB analysis raises an important concern about Canada's training system; a lifelong learning regime that relies strongly on employer-sponsored training may widen the already unequal distribution of skills. Compared to a more broadly accessible public system, employer-sponsored training limits access to adult education and training for the unemployed and those out of the labour force, as well as providing unequal training opportunities among employed workers."

A recent study by Boessenkool & Robson (1997) is critical of the federal-provincial training proposals encapsulated in EI for different reasons. This study, *Ending the Training Tangle: The Case against Federal-Provincial Programs under EI*, argues that there is a very weak case to be made for federal government involvement in training at all. It is suggested there is little evidence to support the economic rationale for federal involvement on the basis that potential emigration of trainees inhibits provinces from adequately filling this gap. In keeping with neoliberal principles, they argue that if action to prevent this kind of problem is deemed politically necessary, then individuals should be given vouchers, tax credits, income contingent loans or other direct subsidies such that training would be purchased by individuals. In addition, they argue that flexibility, accountability and integration with related services such as welfare and education at the provincial level is what is required. Hence training should be under the control of the provinces.

There is another factor driving the conclusion that federal presence (in direct provision or financing) in training should be removed. This is found in the study's conclusion that the collection of training-related EI premiums should cease, thus lowering EI premiums by almost 1 percentage point. Boessenkool & Robson (1997) suggest that a smaller payroll tax would improve job prospects and give them the "best kind of training there is: training on the job."

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

- Will changes to training provisions exacerbate the differential access to training, and in particular, the length and type of training received by low income individuals and

women?

- Should subsidies/supplements be delivered through employees or employers (supply side versus demand side of labour market)?
- What is the best format for such programs (e.g. subsidizing wage rates or earnings)?
- Should targeting be used in such programs, and if so, how?
- Should these programs be linked with social assistance and other programs?
- To what extent will the greater flexibility for provincial policy under the CHST promote constructive experiments (e.g. work-to-welfare or better coordination of welfare with training/education programs) as against destructive/restrictive measures?
- What will be the impacts on employer incentives to undertake employee training and to retain workers for long periods (for example, after layoffs, maternity)?
- What are the effects of reductions in income support on wage adaptability and wage adjustments (and consequent effects on aggregate unemployment and NAIRU)?
- What are the effects on interprovincial mobility of changes to provincial welfare, education, and training programs?

Bibliography

Bedard, M. 1997. *Les taxes sur la masse salariale: effets des plancers de remuneration sur l'emploi a temps partiel*. Applied Research Branch, Strategic Policy, Human Resources Development Canada. Working Paper W-97-5F. Ottawa. HRDC.

Betcherman, G & G. Lowe. 1997. *The Future of Work in Canada. A Synthesis Report*. Ottawa: CPRN.

Bloom, H., B. Fink, W. Bancroft, S. Gurr & D. Tattrie. 1997. *Implementing the Earnings Supplement Project*. Social Research and Demonstration Corporation. Ottawa.

Boessenkool, K.J. & W.B.P. Robson. 1997. *Ending the Training Tangle: The Case against Federal-Provincial Programs under EI*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Canadian Auto Workers. 1997. "The Jobs Crisis Continues..." *Economic & Social Action: Facts and Figures for the Frontlines*. 3(1): 1-3.

Government of Canada/Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. 1997. *Changing Workplace Strategies: Achieving Better Outcomes for Enterprises, Workers and Society*. Ottawa.

HRDC (Human Resources Development Canada). 1997a. "The Changing Workplace and Public Policy." *Applied Research Bulletin*. 3(2): 18-20.

Kesselman, J. (forthcoming) "Earnings Supplements and Employment Subsidies: The Economics of Program Design," a monograph being prepared for the Institute for Research on Public Policy (Montreal).

Stanford, J. 1997. *Ontario's Jobs Crisis and its Link to the Provincial Deficit: A Look at the Evidence*. Paper prepared for the Ontario Alternate Budget Project. Toronto: Canadian Auto Workers.

Stanford, J. 1996. "Discipline, Insecurity and Productivity: The Economics Behind Labour Market 'Flexibility.'" in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.) *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Rehnby, N. & S. McBride. 1997. *Help Wanted: Economic Security for Youth*. Ottawa/Vancouver: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Sonnen, C. 1997. "Economic Effects of fiscal initiatives," *Informetrica Monthly Review* 16(2).

Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

With the elimination of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) provinces are now legally in a position to impose a work test as a condition for receipt of income assistance. While several jurisdictions had established work and employability programs prior to the implementation of the CHST, most of these were developed in response to the Employability Enhancement Accord that Ottawa signed with different provinces. Many of these "*welfare to work programs*" such as New Brunswick's NB Works, unlike "*workfare*" were voluntary and non-participation did not disentitle people from benefits. Similarly the financial incentives delivered through the Self-Sufficiency Projects in New Brunswick and British Columbia are voluntary, experimental and are based on topping up wages in an effort to move people from welfare to work (Card and Robins, 1996:1). Unlike these voluntary programs, the reforms in Alberta that were introduced in 1993 included mandatory workfare.

The CHST now permits the institutionalization of "workfare or trainfare" where work or training is a requirement for social assistance. The review of changing social assistance regulations by the National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO 1997) and the National Council of Welfare (NCW 1997) shows that many jurisdictions now have workfare or trainfare programs in place. These are mandatory and compulsory as receipt of benefits is contingent upon participation in these programs. Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and BC now have mandatory workfare and trainfare programs in place.

2. Workfare/Trainfare and Welfare to Work.

In terms of neoliberal social policy, recent reforms to welfare are designed to combat a supposed work disincentive created by welfare (Struthers 1996). A recent study of welfare rates among single mothers in Ontario finds that each \$1,000 increase in benefit levels is associated with a 1.9% reduction in employment rates. This finding leads to the conclusion that "efforts to improve the income situation of lone mothers" ... may lead to "a self-defeating reinforcement of long-term dependency on social assistance" (Kapsalis 1997).

Reductions in welfare benefits are one way to curb this supposed disincentive. For example, it is almost universal among all jurisdictions to impose rate reductions for single employables. The assumption is that lower rates will off-set the disincentive to finding employment. In Alberta, for example, overall welfare rates were reduced to ensure that welfare payments

would always be lower than work at minimum wages (Canada West Foundation 1997a). This may be interpreted as an effort to break down the "welfare wall" to ensure that those working are better-off financially than those who are receiving income assistance (Battle 1997:3).

Another way to curb work disincentives is to impose mandatory or obligatory workfare or trainfare in order for people to receive their welfare cheques (Moscovitch 1997:89, Picot and Myles 1996). This represents a shift from passive to active income support and emphasizes the "importance of self-sufficiency as well as the "temporary nature of assistance" (CWF 1997a:3). Struther's (1996:8) historical review of workfare programs finds that while these programs are accompanied by "uplifting rhetoric about the 'dignity of labour' ... [they also involve] ... the cultivation of a wider climate of suspicion and stigmatization of welfare clients."

In a review of workfare in relation to income assistance programs, Lightman (1991) provides a typology that considers workfare on a continuum from voluntary to compulsory programs. This is alongside an ideological continuum where income assistance is regarded as a right or entitlement, to that of a "responsibility and obligation" for individuals to participate in workfare. At this end of the continuum, assistance is contingent on a work test. In an expansion of this model, McFarland and Mullaly (1996:204-206) define "work to welfare" and "workfare" as two different dimensions. One is voluntary, based on providing opportunities to participants and is defined as a "carrots" as opposed to a "sticks" approach to moving people into the workforce (see also Evans 1993). NB Works (an employability enhancement program in New Brunswick), is an example of a welfare to work program as the emphasis is on supports, education and voluntary participation. Mandatory programs where the receipt of a benefit is contingent upon participation in workfare and/or trainfare is the "sticks" approach that increasingly is being adopted in reforms to welfare taking place in Canada (McFarland and Mullaly 1996:204-206). In a recent review of workfare, Torjman (1996:1) makes a similar distinction pointing out that "workfare refers to mandatory participation in a designated activity". In contrast welfare to work programs represent a "human resources strategy" that includes investment in employability enhancement and job creation measures.

In a recent study on the history of workfare in Canada, Jim Struthers (1996:7-8) suggests there are "four recurring themes" regarding workfare. First, the "demand for imposing compulsory labour on the jobless typically follows wrenching structural change in the wider economy - changes which produce persisting high levels of unemployment that cannot easily be explained by prevailing economic theories of the day." A second theme is that workfare programs are a response to high welfare caseloads that remain high even after employment and economic conditions improve. Third, workfare is a part of a more general attack on welfare clients. This involves "punitive administrative practices ... including cutbacks in benefits, the creation of fraud squads ... that are part of a wider climate of suspicion and stigmatization of welfare clients." A final aspect of workfare is an effort to treat the cause of dependency on "moral character or values" rather than structural changes that lead to high levels of unemployment. "Simply put, workfare seeks to return to the oldest distinction in social policy history - between

the deserving and undeserving poor" (Struthers, 1996:8).

3. Provincial Workfare/Trainfare Programs.

The shift to active workfare/trainfare involves a number of related programs. In Alberta (CWF 1997f:13) welfare clients are now divided into four program categories. Three of these involve an expectation to work as a condition of receipt of social assistance. These program categories are:

Expected to Work

- Supplement to Earnings - for employed recipients whose earnings are insufficient to cover their needs.
- Employment and Training - for recipients who are seeking employment or available for/participating in training programs.
- Transitional Support - for employable recipients temporarily unavailable for work or training.

Not Expected to Work

- Assured Support - for recipients assessed as unemployable because of a handicap or other barriers to employment.

Ontario Works (1996:1) requires that employable people "receiving welfare will be expected to actively participate in a plan of increased activity to support their eligibility." This involves community services and efforts to find paid employment. This program has the following major components (*Ontario Works* 1996:4).

- Community Participation: any unpaid community-service activity under the direction of communities and/or public or non-profit organizations.
- Employment Support: activities that support participants in their efforts to become job-ready and access their shortest route to paid employment, such as job search assistance, basic education, and job-specific training.
- Employment Placement: supports participants who are job-ready to find and maintain paid employment and assists participants interested in self-employment to develop business enterprises. Compensation is paid to agencies on a performance basis using a

share of the funds that would otherwise be paid out in social assistance.

- Restructuring of existing employment programs: existing employment programs will be restructured to provide Employment Support and/or other components of Ontario Works.

BC Benefits (1997) includes Welfare to Work for adults (25 and over) and Youth Works for those 19 -24 years of age. Like the Ontario and Alberta workfare and trainfare programs, these are compulsory, emphasize the temporary nature of social assistance and are based on active employment and training as a requirements for income assistance. The first phase for both adults and youth is to actively seek employment. This will be supported by the Ministry with information on job search strategies. If employment is not found recipients need to enroll in employability/training programs administered by the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training. These programs involve the following (BC Benefits 1997: 1-4):

- Basic Education: adult basic education, including English language and literacy training.
- Job Readiness/Community Employment Training: available to those requiring help to make the transition to work, job readiness training is available. This integrated approach provides a range of opportunities including job search training, career counseling, personal management skills training and work experiences.
- Workplace-based Training: gives valuable on-the job training to job-ready adults for a minimum of one year. This provides much needed experience that will enhance participants potential to find permanent employment.

BC Benefits also incorporates the BC Family Bonus. This is provided to low and modest income working families and consists of a \$103 monthly supplement for each child under 18. This type of supplement is a central feature of the new Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit introduced by the federal government in the 1997 Budget (Canada 1997a, 1997b, 1997c). While this is viewed by some as a financial incentive that supports work rather than welfare (Battle and Mendelson 1997), others suggest that targeting extra benefits to work is a labour market policy that entrenches low wage labour (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1997a, 1997b). It does this in a number of ways:

- It is part of a broader welfare strategy aimed at reducing income assistance benefits while increasing the requirement to work.
- Because of these policies, low wages become more attractive even though remuneration levels are unable to meet basic needs.

- In this context this supplement is a low wage subsidy, making low wage jobs more tolerable, enlarging the pool of people willing to take up low wage jobs and thereby intensifying a downward pressure on wages (Ontario Social Services Workers Coordinating Committee 1997).

4. Critical Issues Regarding Workfare.

The shift to active programs (workfare, trainfare) has resulted in growing proportion of welfare caseloads moving into these programs. In British Columbia, for example, out of 182,572 cases (families and single persons), close to 78% are enrolled in Youth Works and Welfare to Work programs. While these programs are mandatory, in fact the Ministry of Human Resources has restricted access to them as they are over-subscribed (BC Benefits 1997; SPARC 1997). Commenting on the take-up rate of Opportunity Planning (OP) a voluntary welfare to work project that preceded the workfare of Ontario Works, Linda Lalonde (1997:100) indicates that these programs are always over-subscribed. According to her experience as a human service worker in Ontario, people want to get off welfare. The myth that they need to be forced into work or training does not fit the facts:

“In Ottawa-Carleton, we can demonstrate that for every single-program to get people off welfare, whether it’s a job finding club, or resume writing, or life skill, or upgrading courses, there are people lined up down the street to get into it. These programs are always over-subscribed. I have seen people with literally no chance of employment, going out and applying for job after job after job, because they didn’t want to sit at home on welfare” (Lalonde 1997:100).

This is consistent with a good deal of research that shows people on welfare “desperately want to get off and will take any reasonable chance to do so.” (SPCMT 1996: 15; Picot and Myles 1996; Blank 1994). If jobs are available people on welfare will take them. They do not need to be forced into workfare, what they require is an opportunity to work. However, support for voluntary work to welfare programs declined as provinces move to mandatory workfare. Research by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT 1996a:12,13) points to substantial cuts in voluntary employability enhancement programs. Alongside cuts in welfare rates and the imposition of mandatory workfare/trainfare, 57% of all employment/skills training and skills development programs were cut in Metropolitan Toronto.

There are other precautions regarding Workfare or Trainfare programs. One is that they are extremely complex and costly (McFarland and Mullaly 1996; Ontario Social Service Workers Coordinating Committee 1997). Even research that favours workfare shows that it is more costly than traditional welfare programs. Boessenkool (1997:16), for example, illustrates the cost of Alberta’s Workfare programs. Between 1993 and 1996, 12,071 people took part in

these programs at a cost of \$55.7 million for an annualized cost of \$18, 456 per participant. "That amount is more than triple the benefit rate for single employables." The Boessenkool (1997:17) study also finds that "training" programs were "much more expensive than passive welfare costs."

While Boessenkool (1997:17) suggests that the Alberta reforms are a model for other provinces, whether workfare or trainfare actually have an impact on the long term job success of recipients is "difficult to determine." This is the case as "long-term tracking," that is "arm's-length" from government accounting has not been undertaken. In a more direct criticism of workfare in Ontario, Lalonde (1997:95) suggests these programs are unproductive because they send recipients into "pointless busy work," "blame them for their poverty" and "punish" welfare recipients with lower benefits and compulsory programs that are both ineffective and reinforce negative self-images.

In *Telling Our Stories* (SPCMT 1996b) individuals on welfare in Ontario note potential positive outcomes from enrollment in workfare are in fact undermined by widespread cuts in both benefit levels and related programs that support people moving into the workforce. As a result of these cuts the following restrict peoples' chances of finding paid employment (SPCMT 1996b:11):

- Many people can no longer afford transportation to look for work or to go to training courses.
- Many people do not even have money to buy stamps, print resumes or buy newspapers to check job ads.
- Many people cannot afford phone services and are seriously hampered in looking for work.
- In one training program, half the participants had to leave classes during a month to obtain assistance from a food bank during its hours of operation.
- Rate reductions reinforce poverty - people cannot afford decent clothing, haircuts and basic grooming needs to be presentable for a job interview.
- With the benefit reductions other programs such as in-depth assessment and counseling that are geared to help people find employment have been cut.

A further criticism is that people in workfare programs are no more likely to be able to find a job than those who do not participate (SPCMT 1996b:11). Some indirect evidence supporting this comes from the Toronto Daily Bread survey that finds that among people "who intensified

job searches, only 5% actually found jobs". In addition, the percentage of welfare recipients who report earnings has only increased slightly from before the reforms to welfare in Ontario (SPCMT 1996a). According to a historical review of workfare related programs, despite the rhetoric that these move people from welfare to work there has never been a "guarantee" that workfare leads to employment (Struthers 1996:8).

Other evidence, however, points to some success from these programs. In his study of Alberta's workfare/trainfare reforms, Boessenkool (1997:18) suggests that the major question concerning workfare "is whether former welfare clients found their way back into the workforce." Comparing labour force participation of under 25 year olds before and after 1994 he finds that employment for this group kept pace with actual job growth in the economy. Before 1993, when the economy improved, employment among young welfare clients lagged even as job opportunities expanded. He concludes that "a barrier to employment appears to have been removed" and that welfare reforms in Alberta may be responsible for removing barriers to work (Boessenkool 1997:20). Still, this conclusion is tentative. He is unable to argue that there is "a direct transfer of individuals from welfare to work." According to his conclusion, even though there are some signs that people choose work over welfare, it is too early to conclusively determine if workfare and trainfare moved people back into the workforce. (Boessenkool 1997:19).

A telephone survey by the Canada West Foundation (CWF 1997a:2) of 769 former recipients also indicates that workfare reforms may have helped people find jobs. However, the results are still inconclusive in that the effect of improved job opportunities in Alberta is not partialled out. The findings show that 57% of the sample were employed, 10% were in school at the time of the interview, and between 15% and 20% were back on welfare. Those with jobs felt they were doing better, but close to 70% reported that they did not have enough money to meet their basic needs (food and shelter) at least once since leaving welfare. About 1/4 to 1/3 reported they had trouble meeting basic needs most or all of the time. This is an outcome of the low wage, insecure jobs former recipients are able to find. For example 32.5% had incomes under \$10,000 in 1996. Because of the low minimum wage in Alberta a single person working 40 hours per week earns \$10,400 a year before taxes and payroll contributions. The CWF concludes that those living independent of welfare do not have a good standard of living. Most earn far less than the average and many have a difficult time meeting their basic needs. While some people who left welfare were better-off, the CWF (1997a) notes that *most simply "substituted one form of poverty for another" by moving from the ranks of the welfare poor into the ranks of the working poor.*

This finding raises another issue regarding workfare and trainfare programs. What kinds of jobs are these people trained for? And what kinds of jobs are available in today's economy? In terms of the latter question it is clear that the fastest growing employment areas are in low-paying, insecure, non-standard service sector jobs (HRDC 1997: 5-7; Schellenberg and Ross 1997). While a growing number of those on welfare have considerable education, "on average

welfare recipients have lower educational levels and literacy rates than the general working age population" (SPCMT 1996a:11). This means, in terms of the first question, that the majority of welfare clients can only be trained for low-wage and insecure work. Even if they are able to find employment at the end of a program, it is likely that the type of jobs available to them will be poor paying and as noted by the CWF (1997a; 1997b, 1997f) many will continue to have a difficult time meeting their needs from the income they derive from work. "One form of poverty will be substituted for another". As suggested in an Ontario review of workfare, these programs "promote a low-wage economy ... increase the number of workers that are potentially available for low-wage work and thereby erode wages and working conditions for all workers." (SPCMT 1996b). Jim Stanford (1995:11) concludes that the reform of welfare in Ontario is a part of "an overall strategy" to increase the insecurity of workers, to achieve lower wages and a more "disciplined" labour force. This is supported by Watson (1997:135) who argues that the provision of workfare in Ontario, where people are forced to work or volunteer without any salary or labour rights, "will undercut the wages and bargaining power of those currently employed."

A further issue regarding workfare is that if "success is measured in job placements of participants it cannot possibly succeed in an economy with high unemployment." This comment comes from a study of NB Works, a voluntary work to welfare program in New Brunswick. In their conclusion of a review of the impact of NB Works, McFarland and Mullaly (1996:215) point out that in a "high unemployment economy, even if a participant finds a job, it will be a job that another unemployed person does not get. Such a shuffle ... only increases the competition for scarce jobs." For workfare or trainfare programs to be successful other policies need to be in place. McFarland and Mullaly suggest these include "macro variables" that determine the extent to which welfare recipients are able to move from welfare into work. "These are policies which promote such goals of full employment, higher minimum wages, fair taxes, universal day care, pay equity, support of unions and the redefinition of work and work sharing" (McFarland and Mullaly 1996:207).

5. The Self-Sufficiency Project.

An experimental welfare to work program currently underway is the Self-Sufficiency Project (SSP) in British Columbia and New Brunswick. The project examines whether an earnings supplement to single parents on welfare will encourage these parents to leave welfare for work. The project is designed to address the what is referred to as the "welfare wall." This is described as follows in the SSP (Card and Robins, 1996:1).

"Even if [welfare recipients] find employment, starting wages are often too low to match what they receive from welfare. Furthermore, combining work and welfare many not raise their incomes significantly, since IA benefits are reduced nearly dollar-for-dollar by the amount of the earnings. This circumstance discourages IA recipients from

both searching for jobs and retaining jobs they find, with many people choosing to remain on or return to welfare”

The SSP project offers a large but temporary supplement to earnings. The supplement is an incentive for people to work and become self-sufficient. The supplement in effect doubles the earnings of most people employed at jobs between the minimum wage and \$8.00 per hour. Compared to a control group, the initial results suggest that those receiving a supplement “significantly outperformed” the control in (HRDC 1995-6:2):

- being engaged in full-time paid employment;
- increasing their earnings;
- reducing reliance on welfare.

In addition, there was “enthusiasm” for this supplement “by the majority of those who have gone off welfare and are receiving the supplement” (HRDC 1995-6:2).

The supplement terminates after 3 years and there is some evidence that the difference between the control group and participants will erode over time and at the end of the supplement (HRDC 1995:3). In addition, Card and Ross (1996:49) conclude that because most participants are working at low wage jobs, it is “possible that many of the recipients will return to welfare when the supplement ends.” One assumption of this project is that those taking jobs would see “wage progression” over the course of the three years of the supplement. This actual wage progression seems to be rather inconsequential. The reason for this is that participants are in low wage jobs that have fewer benefits than welfare and continue to offer inadequate remuneration. This suggests that for welfare to work and workfare programs to be successful, minimum wage rates, not the willingness of people to work, or the disincentives of welfare, need to be increased so workers can obtain a living wage (Clark 1995).

Linkages:

- The effectiveness of compulsory workfare and welfare to work programs as suggested by McFarland and Mullaly (1996) and other research reported on in this section, depends on related factors such as existing unemployment levels, minimum wages and low wage work. In high unemployment economies these programs have the effect of displacing other unemployed people not involved in these programs. Low wage work, and minimum wages that do not provide living wages indicate that people moving from welfare to work tend to substitute poverty on welfare for the poverty arising from low wages. To deal with both unemployment and low wages, alternatives policies are

required. "These are policies which promote such goals of full employment, higher minimum wages, fair taxes, universal day care, pay equity, support of unions and the redefinition of work and work sharing" (McFarland and Mullaly 1996:207).

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

To evaluate the effect of workfare, trainfare and welfare to work programs requires long term tracking of people participating in these programs (Boessenkool 1997, CWF 1997a). This tracking needs to control for changing levels of (un)employment to determine adequately whether these programs lead to jobs. The pay associated with these jobs also needs to be monitored. Do the jobs taken by former welfare clients lead to a better standards of living or do they result in another form of working poverty? Who benefits from these programs? Does workfare simply subsidize the labour costs for employers? This needs to be examined in terms whether employers that provide jobs with government supplements, as is the case in British Columbia and Ontario, benefit disproportionately compared to those participating in workfare. For example, in Quebec, it is reported that "more than 50% of the companies interviewed said they would have hired people at full wages if not for the workfare scheme" (SPCMT 1996b:2).

The issue of the impact of targeting also requires further research. Workfare programs target single employables and increasingly single parents and two parent families with younger and younger children. As workfare is mandatory, non-participation disentitles people from income assistance. What happens when people do not participate? How are they supported? Is this the reason some food bank clients have no money whatsoever? (Edmonton Social Planning Council 1996) What role do families, friends and communities play in supporting those disentitled from government support? The effect of reductions in benefit levels that have accompanied the introduction of workfare programs needs to be examined. To what extent are these counterproductive? How do reductions in benefits affect the job search capabilities and potential of welfare clients? As noted by the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT 1996b) there is some evidence that the job search potential of welfare recipients is severely limited by the lowering of income assistance benefits.

Bibliography

BC Benefits. 1997. *Income Support Programs*. Victoria. Ministry of Human Resources. ([http://www.gov.bc.ca/programs/programs.htm#family bonus](http://www.gov.bc.ca/programs/programs.htm#family_bonus)).

BC Benefits. 1996. *The Initiative*. Victoria: Ministry of Social Services. (<http://www.gov.bc.ca/bcben/initiatives.html>).

Battle, K. and M. Mendelson. 1997. *Child Benefit Reform in Canada: An Evaluative Framework and Future Directions*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-3.htm and [cbr-4.htm](http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-4.htm)).

Battle, K. 1997. *The Down Payment Budget*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute. (<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full73.htm>).

Blank, R. 1994. *Social Protection vs. Economic Flexibility: Is There A Trade Off?* Chicago: Chicago Press.

Boessenkool, K. 1997. *Back to Work: Learning from the Alberta Welfare Experiment*. CD Howe Institute Commentary. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute.

Canada, 1997a. *Towards a National Child Benefit System*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997b. *Working Together Towards a National Child Benefit*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997c. *The National Child Benefit: Building a Better Future for Canadian Children*. Ottawa: Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Social Services.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997a. *Welfare Reform in Alberta: A Survey of Former Recipients*. (September, 1997) Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997b. *Issues and Options for Change: Social Services for the 21st Century*. (March, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997f. *Making Ends Meet: Income Support in Alberta*. (March 1997) Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Card, D. and P. Robins. 1996. *Do Financial Incentives Encourage Welfare Recipients to Work? Initial 18-Month Findings from the Self-Sufficiency Project*. Ottawa: Social Research and Development Corporation, HRDC Canada.

Clark, C. 1995. "Work and Welfare: Looking at Both Sides of the Equation." *Perception*. 19 (1):21-24.

Daily Bread Food Bank. 1996. *Creating Hunger: Impact of Ontario Government Welfare Reforms*. Toronto: Daily Bread Food Bank.

Edmonton Social Planning Council. 1996. *Two Paycheques Away: Social Policy and Hunger in Edmonton*. Edmonton: Edmonton Social Planning Council/Edmonton Gleaners' Association.

Evans, P. 1993. "From Workfare to the Social Contract: Implications for Canada of Recent US Welfare Reforms." *Canadian Public Policy* 19 (1): 53-67.

Human Resources Development Canada. 1997. "Flexible Work Arrangements - Gaining Ground." *Applied Research Bulletin*. Vol 3.#1 (Winter-Spring):5-7.

_____. (1995-96). "Earnings Incentives for Welfare Recipients: Promising Early Results." *Applied Research Bulletin*. Vol 2. #1 (Winter): 1-3.

Kapsalis, C. 1997. "Social Assistance and the Employment Rate of Lone Mothers: An Analysis of Ontario's Live Experiment." *Applied Research Branch Working Papers*. Ottawa: Human Resource Development Canada.

Lalonde, L. 1997. "Tory Welfare Policies: A View from the Inside" (pp:92-102) in D. Ralph, A. Regimbald and N. St-Amand (eds.), *Mike Harris's Ontario: Open for Business. Closed to People*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Lightman, E. 1991. "Work Incentives Across Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 20 (1): 120-137.

McFarland, J. and B. Mullaly. 1996. "NB Works: Image vs. Reality." (pp: 202-219) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Moscovitch, A. 1997. "Social Assistance in the New Ontario." (pp: 80-91) in D. Ralph, A. Regimbald and N. St-Amand (eds.), *Mike Harris's Ontario: Open for Business. Closed to People*. Halifax: Fernwood.

National Council of Welfare (NCW). 1997. *Another Look at Welfare Reform: A Report by the National Council of Welfare*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO). 1997. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: An Update - March 21, 1997." Ottawa: NAPO.

_____. 1996. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: October 17, 1996." Ottawa: NAPO.

Ontario Social Service Workers Coordinating Committee 1997. "Ontario's Workfare Plan - What You Should Know." (<http://worldchat.com/public/tab/ossbcc/1cupe.htm>).

Ontario Works. 1996. *A Summary of Ontario Works Program*. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario.

Picot, G. and J. Myles. 1996. "Social Transfers, Changing Family Structure and Low Income Among Children." Statistics Canada. *Analytical Studies Branch*, Product No. 11F0019E, No. 82.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997a: "The Changing Context of Child and Family Policies." (pp:14-38) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997b. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Discriminating between the 'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' among Poor Families with Children." (pp: 204-208) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Social Planning and Research Council of BC (SPARC). 1997. *Widening the Gap: A Comparison Between the Daily Living and Income Assistance Rates (BC Benefits) in British Columbia*. Vancouver: SPARC of BC.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT). 1996a. "Ontario's Welfare Rate Cuts: An Anniversary Report." The Ontario Social Safety NetWork. Toronto: SPCMT (<http://www.worldchat.com/public/tab/owrc1/htm>).

_____. 1996b. *Telling Our Stories*. Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto.

Shellenberg, G. and D. Ross. 1997. "Left Poor by the Market: A Look at family poverty and earnings." *Executive Summary*. Ottawa: CCSD (http://www.ccsd.ca/es_left.htm).

Stanford, J. 1995. "Saving the Social Safety Net", *CAW Council Resolutions*. CAW National

Office, North York, Ontario.

Struthers, J. 1996. *Can Workfare Work? Reflections from History*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.
(<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/full54.htm>.)

Torjman, S. 1996. *Workfare: A Poor Law*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.
(<http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/welfare.htm>).

Toronto Daily Bread. (1996). *Creating Hunger: Impact of Ontario Government Welfare Reforms*. Toronto: Daily Bread Food Bank.

Watson, S. "Ontario Workers Take On the "Common Sense Revolution." (pp: 134-142) in D. Ralph, A. Regimbald and N. St-Amand (eds.), *Mike Harris's Ontario: Open for Business. Closed to People*. Halifax: Fernwood.

[C] Policy Alternatives

The Social Economy and Social Union: Shifting Responsibilities of the State and the Third Sector.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction.

As part of wider social policy developments which are redefining the boundaries of the state, the market and "civil society," income security reform today is implicated in a fundamental shift in the structure of Canada's social safety net. The major themes are encapsulated by a variety of terms. These include: devolution; downloading; disentanglement; decentralization; disengagement; fragmentation; rebuilding community capacity; rebuilding social supports; social partnerships; renewal; a social infrastructure re-investment strategy; social (community and/or political) capital; social cohesion. There is no argument that fiscal pressures, specifically the politics of eliminating deficits at the federal and provincial levels, are a principal force behind the preoccupation with the processes described in the terms outlined above. Other forces include changes in family structure and the organization of paid employment. The primary trend, regardless of the descriptor used, is the transfer of critical social supports onto local governments, community organizations (variously described as non-profit or non-governmental organizations or the third sector), families and individuals (cf. Clutterbuck 1997; Farrell 1997; Torjman 1997; Maxwell 1997; Hirshhorn 1997; Canada West Foundation 1997a, 1997b; Leduc Browne 1996).

The meaning of these processes in terms of community based social policy developments, however, is treated from different ideological perspectives in the literature. Particular, though different, interests promote one or other of these developments in specific ways as new policy "alternatives" to the status quo. For example, at one level increased community control involves the growth of individual and family responsibility. This is promoted by the Canada West Foundation (1997b) as a *welfare society* model of devolution as renewal. In contrast, others see the shift to localized control of select services alongside a combination of continued state provision for universal and safety net provisions (cf. Farrell 1997; Clutterbuck 1997; Torjman 1997; Leduc Browne 1996; Vaillancourt 1996). Collective responsibility of the state for individual well-being remains a key aspect of this model. Here, devolution to the third sector in terms of renewal, points a heightened plurality of control over service delivery.

In providing a synopsis of the research in this area, we focus on the renewed interest in the domain beyond the state or the market, in civil society, organized under two dominant concepts: the Social Economy and the Social Union. Although conceptually distinct, these

concepts are linked and provide a framework for understanding many of the sub-themes identified above. Much of the completed research (Canadian, post 1996) in this area is conceptual. There also is a lot of research in progress.

2.1. The Social Economy.

The impact of income security reform on the social economy and the relationship of the social economy to mechanisms of income support is one corner of the much broader area of research on the role of the social economy in the provision of social security. Presented here is a strategic review of the research in this area which concentrates on activities that bear most directly on issues of income support.

The social economy is described as consisting of non-profit corporations and unincorporated associations, voluntary and non-governmental organizations, co-operatives, mutual insurers and community economic development enterprises (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives/Choices 1997; Quarter 1992). This "emerging sector" (Hirshhorn 1997), however poorly understood, "is regarded from divergent perspectives as central to the development of a new model of state and society" (Leduc Browne 1996:2). While the boundaries of this sector appear to defy easy categorization (Scott 1997), three perspectives shape discussions of its future. These are the neoliberal/conservative, welfare pluralist and "new social movement" viewpoints. Of these, the neoliberal and welfare pluralist perspectives dominate (Leduc Browne 1996).

In broad terms, neoliberals extol the moral virtues of charity, volunteerism, and reducing and the scope of the public sector. From this perspective, the non-government sector is seen as cheaper and more cost-effective. Welfare pluralists, on the other hand, continue to believe in a strong role for the government in the provision of social welfare, supplemented by "building new roles and responsibilities for self-help, mutual aid, voluntary and informal assistance" (1996:43). "...[N]ew social movements and alternative service organization call for democratic, grassroots alternatives to the welfare state, while also promoting voluntarism, self-help and co-operation" (1996:3).

Research on the social economy and its relationship to the provision of income security is discussed below in terms of a number of sub-themes. The reader should note that because of the fluidity of the meaning these terms as they are used in the literature, the conceptual boundaries of the following classifications are highly permeable.

2.2. *Social Capital.*

The concept of “social capital” appears to inform much of the recent research on the social economy. Most analyses suggest that the social economy is fundamental for the “social capital” required for optimising the distribution of well-being in Canada (Hirshhorn 1997; Kesselman 1997; Torjman 1996) thus ensuring a healthy society and economy.

Social capital is not an easy concept to pin down, its meaning varying according to ideological perspective and discipline. Broadly speaking, the core of the concept refers to the “density and quality of ties among persons and households [where these ties are] understood as a resource for the person or household” (Kesselman 1997: A9.7). At the broader community level, social capital is understood as “the features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that improve the efficiency of society by encouraging coordinated actions” (Putnam 1993: 167). Interest in this concept today is galvanized by the desire to understand the impact of changing economic, demographic and social conditions on central values (sharing, caring and trust underlying interpersonal ties) which promote the participation of citizens in their polity and community. Social capital also is framed as an intermediary component affecting the formation of public policies which bear on equality and security (Kesselman 1997). The existence and nature of interpersonal ties influences people’s support for such public policies and vice versa.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada recently approved funding of a five year multi-disciplinary collaborative research project directed by Jonathan Kesselman titled *Equality, Security, and Community: Explaining and Improving the Distribution of Well-Being in Canada*. One cluster of this research project-- impacts on community, participation and social capital--is designed to elaborate an understanding of the feedback effects of income security reforms on social capital. There are a range of research questions, including:

- As governments reduce social transfer provisions do individuals adopt more self-reliant attitudes? Does support for local or community programs increase?
- Do increases in support for local initiatives reduce support for government action, particularly at the federal level?
- What are the consequences of increased devolution of power over transfer, social, labour and training policies to the provinces with respect to distributional concerns? How have these changes affected values and attitudes of the public, the social capital, that is manifested in political and community participation?
- Does the social capital support a shift from “passive” to “active” income support programs? What are the consequences of this shift in terms of 1) future support for redistributive policies; 2) the ability of governments to offset inequality in market

incomes?

- A number of other ongoing research projects tap into this issue and that of the social economy from a number of different vantage points.

2.2.1. Social Partnerships.

The Caledon Institute of Social Policy (with support from the Trillium Foundation) is involved in a research project on social partnerships. According to the Caledon Institute, this refers to "strategic alliances between business and nonprofit groups for the purpose of promoting economic and social well-being" (Torjman 1997:9). The purpose of the research is to demonstrate the message that "economic, social and environmental issues are the concern of the entire community-- not simply of governments or social agencies" (1997:10). Pante (1996a) highlights three forms of partnership: social marketing, employee volunteerism and direct involvement in economic and social change. Two of these forms are described briefly below.

- social marketing: This is an arrangement where business promotes a social cause in its marketing strategy. An example of this is the financial support and free advertising provided to the Canadian Women's Foundation (CWF) by Tambrands Canada Inc. (distributors of Tampax). One of the outcomes of this partnership is the establishment of the CWF Tampax Trust Fund, a national grantmaking program for shelters for assaulted women. This initiative is described by White and Wybrow (1996).
- direct involvement: This arrangement typically seeks "fundamental change" focusing on issues such as the alleviation of poverty through housing, job creation and access to capital; and/or increasing local control over community assets and social/economic development. Evoy (1997) describes the work of the Montreal Community Loan Association, a community-based initiative that addresses issues of access to finance capital, unemployment and the ownership of wealth. Affordable loans are provided to people usually denied access to financial capital (e.g., "welfare recipients, single mothers, immigrants and refugees and unemployed youth") to start their own businesses. The thrust of this research is to underline the importance of the social economy as part of a social reinvestment strategy-- to create work and build the skills necessary to generate self-employment

2.2.2. Building Community Capacity.

As a component of its Social Partnerships project, the Caledon Institute (with the support of

the Atkinson Foundation) undertook a feasibility study for a Building Community Capacity Project. The purpose of the project for which the feasibility study was undertaken is to support community development leadership as part of Caledon's broader goal of developing a framework for "sustainable social policy" (Pante 1996b). Sustainable social policy is described as linking social and economic well-being through the "wise and creative use of resources" (financial, human, natural/built and social capital).

2.2.3. Resilience and Interconnections.

The Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN) is conducting research on how families cope with change. This program of research (Families and Their Well-Being) looks at how differential "resiliency" among families determines the way in which they cope with particular consequences (e.g., unemployment). Preliminary findings suggest that "[t]hose isolated without extended networks are more vulnerable, and therefore more likely to turn to public resources" (e.g., welfare) (Maxwell 1997:19). Conceptual papers and findings of the interview data are expected in early 1998.

2.2.4. Social Cohesion.

Social cohesion, the central concern of the work of French social scientists Eme & Laville (1994), refers to the creation of new and stronger social bonds. Closely related to the concept of social capital (Leduc Browne 1996:82), social cohesion is conceived as an enabling mechanism for individuals to give active expression to their role as citizens. Expression of social cohesion can be found in the formation of "local public spheres" of voluntary and self-help activities. The basis of exchange in this alternative "solidaristic economy" is not the commodity exchange of the market but reciprocity (mutualism and altruism).

The concept of social cohesion is examined in a program of research-- Mapping Social Cohesion-- by the CPRN. This study looks at the issue of how social connections at the community level affect families. The research is intended to identify who is doing research in this area and what is being done. It also is intended to provide a conceptual organization of research in this field.

The central purpose of the research reviewed in this section looking at the place of the social economy in income and social security is the notion that "[t]he mediating institutions of civil society-- i.e., the places where people come together in communities-- need to play strong leadership roles in addressing social problems, such as poverty and crime. These institutions provide the sites for public problem-solving and for skill-building and experimentation with new, broader civic roles" (Torjman 1997: 2).

2.3. *Creating a Community- Centred "Welfare Society."*

Similar themes are pursued from a different ideological stance in a Social Service Project study by the Canada West Foundation (CWF) (1997a, 1997b). This study describes the impact of the downloading of federal provisions for welfare and declining adequacy of benefits and accessibility to provincial income assistance on community based, third sector organizations. This is cast in the framework of a move from a government centred "welfare state," to a community centred "welfare society."

According to its analysis the ideas of decentralization, devolution, community-based care, and rationalization are all aspects of the shift along a continuum from a welfare state to a welfare society. Unlike the welfare state that is characterized by a collective responsibility for social welfare, and well developed universal services, the welfare society has the following characteristics (CWF 1997b:5):

- It is based upon ideals of individual responsibility;
- it features decentralization both of decision-making and the provision of services;
- strong emphasis is placed on families, individuals and community services in the role of social care;
- it develops from a strong opposition to state provision of universal and comprehensive services which are seen to foster dependency and encourage bureaucratic inefficiency.

Welfare changes in Alberta, and the federal shift to EI from UI are examples of programs that represent a move to a welfare society. These are based on "active" programs of employability, job training and individual responsibility.

In an a series of case studies of six non-profit organizations the CWF (1997b:18-20; 1997c) identifies the following principles as guides for enhancing the delivery of services in the developing welfare society:

- link social service policies to economic, health care and labour market policies. For example, with the focus on "active" employment in social assistance, changes in tax reductions for low income individuals would complement the goal of helping recipients to become self-sufficient;
- build a social health promotion or preventative approach to current programs;
- strengthen community based services. These services are more responsive, effective

and efficient than centralized, government services;

- develop partnerships with business. In the context of changing responsibilities and roles, it is necessary to make business a routine rather than a sporadic partner in developing solutions to social problems;
- encourage partnership and collaboration. This offers advantages to dealing with issues that require more than one organization to deal with. Partnership and collaboration would improve economies by eliminating service duplication, increase information sharing and the potential effectiveness of services.

These principles are presented as guides to help the evolving welfare society to understand and manage the increasing role of the non-government organizations. In addition it is suggested that they will help community based services minimize the pain the shift to a welfare society might have on vulnerable members of society.

The CWF (1997b:20, 1997c) cautions that the "shift to community-based services, however, must be accompanied by adequate definition of roles, sufficient resources to implement quality services, and clearly enforced standards." In the conclusion to the Social Services Project it is suggested that a Social Services Investment Fund be developed to assist the shift to community involvement and commitment, the development of local initiatives and solutions, and the integration or collaboration of existing services. The fund would also be used for improving data collection of social needs and the establishing of benchmarks for evaluating the effectiveness of services.

2.4. Devolution as Fragmentation or Renewal? The Relationship of the Social Economy to Formal Government Social Programs and Income Redistribution.

The research reviewed under the rubric of the social economy promotes the development of what some refer to as "local public spheres" (Eme & Laville 1994, quoted in Leduc Browne 1996: 78) as a way to use scarce financial resources as well as other resources in "new and sustainable ways." At the same time, a continuing role for formal government programs and income redistribution through the provision of strong social programs and a fair tax system is emphasized. These formal, government run social and income security programs are seen to be essential complements to other dimensions of support provided by the social economy and in the form of social capital. Numerous opinion polls and survey research on Canadian values and expectations underline the continued importance of the social contract-- assurance that collective provision for basic social needs will be met by the state-- between citizens and the state.

Reflecting this sentiment, the Caledon Institute underlines that ". . . private arrangements are

no substitute for a solid public sector. Partnerships and collaboratives both complement and supplement the public sector. They can never and should never be expected to replace the role of government in redistributing income, making essential social investments and building caring communities through the promotion of citizenship" (Torjman 1997:10).

Despite an endorsement of the need for a strong public sector, this research leaves unresolved and contentious two critical questions: What should be the level of government involvement in income redistribution? and What should be the nature and magnitude of "essential social investments?" On these questions, the research in this arena reflects considerable division.

Taking up these concerns, some of the research (cf. Leduc Browne 1996; Bach and Rioux 1996; Vaillancourt 1996) is more cautionary in its analysis of the complementary nature of the relationship between the social economy and formal mechanisms of the welfare state. Rather than interpreting the shift to the community as a transfer of power from central to local organizations, several authors interpret this shift of resources as downsizing and offloading that fits the neoliberal vision of a reduced role for the state in the provision of welfare (Bach and Rioux 1996; Vaillancourt 1996; Leduc Browne 1996). This offloading in conjunction with the reduced funding that follows the introduction of the CHST represents an unequivocal return to a "residual and minimalist welfare state." Reduced federal funding leads to a rationing of scarce resources and forces local community organizations to distribute allocations according to the "worthiness or unworthiness" of those seeking help. This results in communities restricting assistance and services on the basis of the old distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor (Bach and Rioux 1996). Stokes and Ternowetsky (1997:11) note that communities that have few resources will ultimately be affected adversely as "local service providers are forced to manage the consequences of diminished resources in a context of [continued] high demand."

Leduc Browne's (1996) study of the voluntary sector points out that "[n]on-profit organizations are mostly small in size and local in scope, with few assets, modest budgets, and a handful of employees. The voluntary sector is highly dependent on government funding" (1996:4). These observations also are borne out by another recent study of the Canadian nonprofit sector by Day & Devlin (1997). Leduc Browne extends these observations, however, to examine the consequences of the form this dependency assumes in an era of funding cuts in terms of loss of autonomy, reduced capacity for innovation and separate identity for the "voluntary" sector. This analysis points to the need for alternative additional systems of funding. One of the forms this might take is arm's length granting councils financed by a Community Benefit Tax. A number of other alternative policies for the social economy are spelled out in the 1997 Alternative Federal Budget (CCPA/Choices 1997).

Pursuing a similar theme, Stokes and Ternowetsky (1997) discuss "horizontal" linkages within local communities and "vertical" linkages that depict relations between local communities and external funding provided by centralized governments for local initiatives. Horizontal linkages

occur among intracommunity organizations, institutions and local residents and provide the basis for the assumption that people at the local level can best determine and respond to community needs. In the context of contracting out, where local services are funded by external, centralized government bodies, funding will likely be rejected unless it coincides with externally determined requirements. In effect, community driven solutions are influenced by external bodies who ultimately decide the validity of an identified need.

Commenting on the growth of food banks, Julia Bass (CAFB 1997:2), the executive director of the Canadian Association of Food Banks, notes community responses to hunger depend on the ability and willingness of local communities. As a result *Hunger Count 97* (CAFB 1997) finds considerable variation between communities. This is a key problem with the shift of responsibility from the state to non-state, third sector community organizations. "Canada's social safety net was created to provide consistent support for people in need and to avoid the inevitable variation in charitable and community resources." The CHST and the offloading of responsibilities to the third sector has resulted in the "unraveling" of the safety net and "whether you eat or not may depend on whether you live in a generous community" (Julia Bass in CAFB 1997:2).

The same conclusion can be drawn about low-income people's shelter needs. Since 1993 when the federal government stopped providing funding for new social housing projects, only two provinces (Quebec and British Columbia) have kept in place a social housing program. But the capacity of these provinces to maintain these programs is severely curtailed because of diminished funding. As a result waiting lists are growing. In B.C., for example, the waiting list for social housing doubled between 1993 and 1997. The situation in other provinces is far worse. According to Mendelson (1997) "the devolution of social housing to the provinces has left most of the country without a social housing program at all. This will lead to a huge crisis of urban homelessness in the next several years, especially in Toronto, that will be felt in the whole country."

Research by Vaillancourt (1996) and Leduc Browne (1996) also cautions that the neoliberal agenda is to use the third sector as a mechanism for contracting cheap labour, fostering a low wage economy and reducing the cost of service provision. The financially marginal status of much employment through the voluntary, nonprofit or third sector is demonstrated by Leduc's study and is an issue of concern for others promoting the rebuilding of this sector (cf. Torjman 1997; CCPA/Choices 1997). Vaillancourt (1996:92) offers an alternative approach based on the notion of "communautarisation" where the third sector partnership with public authorities is based on "a strengthening and consolidation of the third sector". This strengthening requires the following:

- more stable financial and political support from public authorities;
- more legitimacy for the third sector within civil society;

- an institutionalized contract for ten to twenty years between the third sector and the state;
- a clearer definition between of what sharing responsibilities between the public, private and third sector means;
- on the labour front this needs to support the creation of decent jobs.

3.1. The Social Union.

Income security reform is intimately tied to developments regarding the social union. Research on the social union is looking to understand and influence the ways in which government commitments to citizens regarding social and income security programs are forged, including the agreements/commitments between different levels of government. Biggs (1996) defines the social union as “the web of rights and obligations between Canadian citizens and government that give effect and meaning to our shared sense of social purpose and common citizenship.” Maxwell (1996: 2-3) suggests that it “includes the social safety net but it also embraces cohesive families and the network of civic institutions which meet day to day human needs. It requires an effective partnership between federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments, all of whom contribute to the safety net, and to the well-being of families and civic institutions.”

The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives in Ottawa and CHOICES in Winnipeg are working to develop options for a new social union as part of the 1998 Alternative Federal Budget. The issues explored include nationhood, equality, social and economic rights. This research responds to the profound division among Canadians about existing federal-provincial arrangements and how they should be reformed.

Two options appear to prevail: the status quo, or the effective dismantling of the central government through the symmetrical transfer of most powers to the provinces. The CCPA/Choices coalition rejects both of these. It argues that “the status quo will continue to breed bitterness among those whose historic aspirations it thwarts: the Québécois people, the First Nations, Western Canadians, and official language minorities. The symmetrical devolution of most federal powers to the provinces, on the other hand, erodes the traditional basis for protecting and promoting social rights in Canada through national standards enforced by the Federal Government.” Alternative approaches to the social union are explored. Three guiding principles prevail: (1) the protection and advancement of economic and social rights; (2) constructive engagement with the expressed desires of Quebecers and the First Nations for national self-determination; (3) restoration and enhancement of democratic accountability in the political system. The 1998 AFB Framework Document and background papers will be

published in 1998.

The CPRN began a study on the social union in 1997, building on the work of Peters (1995) *Exploring Canadian Values* and Biggs (1996) *Building Blocks for Canada's New Social Union*. This study, to be published in the spring of 1998, explores four core issues:

- principles and objectives for the social union;
- measuring outcomes in the social union;
- designing institutions for the social union;
- public participation in the social union.

An interim report of the study (O'Hara 1997) points to a number of developments which are creating new ways to work together in an integrated and coordinated way. According to this CPRN study, these include programs such as the National Child Benefit, federal/provincial/territorial efforts to develop a comprehensive national children's agenda, an integrated disability income support program, and new inter-governmental institutions such as the Federal-Provincial-Territorial Council on Social Policy Renewal. Some of these developments appear to build on the recommendations of the 1996 Report of the Ministerial Council on Social Policy Reform which called upon the federal government to take leadership in three key areas of income security: the establishment of a national child benefit; the consolidation of income support for individuals with long-term and significant disabilities into a single national program; and the possible integration of income support for working-age adults (the consolidation of Employment Insurance and provincially administered welfare) (Torjman 1996).

The CPRN study points to a number of steps which build on these initiatives, including:

- expansion of the scope of the current social union discussions by including other sectors in the discussions, identifying "Canadian projects" to pursue through the social union;
- creation of a regular schedule of meetings for First Ministers to review progress on social union initiatives;
- clarification of the mandate of the F/P/T Council on SPR to coordinate sectoral work across the union, begin work on framework issues, and report to First Ministers on a regular basis;
- open up the social union discussions, making them more transparent, reporting results, engaging citizens and citizen groups on the key issues.

3.2. A National Social Infrastructure Investment Strategy.

In response to federal downloading associated with implementation of the CHST, in particular more recent experiences of “disentanglement” in Ontario, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT) argues the need for re-investment strategies which help define new kinds of inter-governmental relationships. Towards this end it proposes an alternative National Municipal Social Infrastructure Strategy (Clutterbuck 1997).

Inspired by the federal government’s national infrastructure program initiated in 1993 and Ontario’s experiences of devolution to the municipalities, Clutterbuck (1997:72) suggests that “[t]he same more sustained kind of local/urban initiative is now needed to begin rebuilding our social infrastructure from the ground up. Available to local municipalities rather than being channeled through the traditional health, education and social welfare bureaucracies, a Social Infrastructure Strategy would promote effective coordination across the various fields of service that make an impact on community health and social well-being.” In the post-deficit era, the fiscal dividend should not be spent attempting to restore or recover the losses of the deficit fighting campaign. Rather, this approach turns away from the traditional institutional frameworks of health, education and social welfare (1997: 74). The work of the Toronto Transition Team is identified as especially instructive in its ability to “show responsiveness to community advice” by community groups about a range of important municipal services and social priorities.

While provincial participation would be “welcome but not required for municipalities to have access to the Social Infrastructure Strategy . . . [these governments] should not prevent their cities and towns from getting access to the resources needed to deal with the growing health and social obligations that they are assuming” (1997:74).

The CCPA and Choices coalition also articulates an alternative social infrastructure investment strategy in their 1997 and 1998 Alternative Budget Frameworks.

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

Social capital

- As governments reduce social transfer provisions do individuals adopt more self-reliant attitudes? Does support for local or community programs increase?
- Do increases in support for local initiatives reduce support for government action, particularly at the federal level?
- What are the consequences of increased devolution of power over transfer, social, labour and training policies to the provinces with respect to distributional concerns?

How have these changes affected values and attitudes of the public, the social capital that is manifested in political and community participation?

- Does the distribution of “social capital” compound, offset or merely add another dimension to social inequality?
- Do economic regions characterized by high levels of aggregate “social capital” outperform those where interpersonal linkages/interpersonal trust are low/er?
- Do private networks facilitate participation in public processes and how does this affect individual and household (economic and social) well-being?

Social cohesion/community capacity building

- Is social cohesion undermined by the trend to individual responsibility and reducing the role of government? (Townson)
- What is the impact of the continued inequality of women on “social cohesion.” (Townson)
- What is the link between the source of income, adequacy of income and family functioning and resiliency? (CPRN/Family Services Canada)
- Where is the capacity to pick up the excess demand for personal and family supports?
- What are the feedback effects of changes in public provisions for income security on the public’s attitudes, values and participation (social capital) and hence willingness to support further changes to programs (at the provincial and federal levels)? (Kesselman)
- What is the interdependency between social infrastructure, community cohesion and income support? Does one substitute for the other or are they complements? (CPRN)

Welfare society

The CWF (1997b) makes the following point regarding the need for greater information. “The need for comprehensive information was problematic enough when we thought of social services in terms of a comprehensive universal centrally-managed process - the welfare state. The problem becomes even more critical with the shift to a more decentralized community-based system that puts more emphasis on the individual - the model of the welfare society.” The following kinds of data are required to improve our knowledge of the delivery models in the welfare society.

(a) Improving systematic information collection to determine (CWF 1997b:13-14):

- How many people, not cases, actually benefit from or rely on the social service system?
- Where are the “cracks” in the system, and who is falling through them?
- How are changes to social services affecting people in need of help?
- How large is the informal support system of family and friends that underlie our formal safety net? Who is involved in informal support activities, and how do they contribute

to social well-being?

- How large is the non-profit sector in social services? What are the primary roles played by the sector?
- If services are to be community-based, what is the capacity of communities to take over specific components of social services?
- How are stakeholder roles, responsibilities and relationships changing as the social services system evolves?

(b) Develop and Implement Social Benchmarks. These consist of (CWF 1997b:15-18):

- quantifiable indicators that assess the extent of a social problem;
- concrete operationalization of social service goals and priorities;
- outcome-based measurements of social goals, rather than the more traditional effort - or input-based measures;
- comparative indicators that can be used to assess success over time or to measure performance in relation to other jurisdictions;
- benchmarks established over the long-term-- longer than those appropriate for routine program monitoring and evaluation.

Bibliography

Bach, M. and M. Rioux. 1996. "Social Policy, Devolution and Disability: Back to Notions of the Worthy Poor." (pp: 317-327) in J. Pulkington and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Biggs, M. 1996. *Building Blocks for Canada's New Social Union*. Ottawa: CPRN.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997a: *Welfare Reform in Alberta: A Survey of Former Recipients*. (September, 1997) Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Canada West Foundation (CWF). 1997b. *Issues and Options for Change: Social Services for the 21st Century*. (March, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997c. *Case Studies*. (March, 1997). Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997d. *Restructuring of Social Services: The Impact on Women in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997e. *Alberta's Children: Issues, Programs and Restructuring*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997f. (August, 1997) *The Safety Net and Seniors in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

_____. 1997g. (March 1997). *Making Ends Meet: Income Support in Alberta*. Calgary: Canada West Foundation.

Canadian Association of Food Banks. 1997. *Hunger Count 97*. Toronto: Canadian Association of Food Banks.

Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives/Choices. 1997. *Setting new priorities: Jobs, investing in people, and a sustainable economy. The 1997 Alternative Federal Budget Framework Document*. Ottawa: CCPA/Choices.

Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). 1997. "CCSD's Response to the 1997 Federal Budget." *Position Paper*. Ottawa: CCSD. (<http://www.ccsd.ca/budg97.htm>.)

_____. 1997. "CCSD Proposes Measures to Halt Erosion of Federal Support for Canada's Social Program," Ottawa: CCSD. (<http://www.ccsd.ca/pr-chst.html>).

Canadian Association of Food Banks, 1997. *Hunger Count 97*.

Clutterbuck, P. 1997. "A National Municipal Social Infrastructure Strategy." *Canadian Review of Social Policy*. 40 (Winter):69-75.

Daily Bread Food Bank. 1996. *Creating Hunger: Impact of Ontario Government Welfare Reforms*. Toronto: Daily Bread Food Bank.

Day, K. M. & R. A. Devlin. 1997. *The Canadian Nonprofit Sector*. Ottawa: CPRN

Edmonton Social Planning Council. 1997. "Poverty Trends in Edmonton: The Race to the Bottom Heats Up!" Edmonton: ESPC.

Edmonton Social Planning Council. 1996. *Two Paycheques Away: Social Policy and Hunger in Edmonton*. Edmonton: Edmonton Social Planning Council/Edmonton Gleaners' Association.

Eme, B & J. Laville (eds.) 1994. *Cohesion sociale et emploi*. Paris: Desclee de Brouwer.

Evoy, L. 1997. *The Montreal Community Loan Association and Social Partnerships*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy. February.

Farrell, M. 1997. "Rebuilding our Social Supports," *Canadian Review of Social Policy*. 40 (Winter): 76-78.

Hirshhorn, R. (ed.) 1997. *The Emerging Sector: In Search of a Framework*. Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Network.

Kesselman, J. 1997. "Equality, Security, and Community: Explaining and Improving the Distribution of Well-Being in Canada." SSHRC Major Collaborative Research Grant Application.

Leduc Browne, P. 1996. *Love in a Cold War? The Voluntary Sector in an Age of Cuts*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.

Manning, L. 1997a. "Please, Mr. Minister, I Need Some More!" Regina: Poverty Action Group.

_____. 1997b. "Presentation to the Caucus Committee on Social Policy." (June 17, 1997). Regina: Regina & District Food Bank Inc.

Maxwell, J. 1997. *CPRN Annual Report, 1996-97*. Ottawa: CPRN.

Maxwell, J. 1996. *CPRN Annual Report: 1995-96. New Mental Maps: A Message from the President*. Ottawa: CPRN.

Metro Toronto. 1996. *Impacts of General Welfare Assistance Rate Reductions*. Report to the Metro Toronto Human Services Committee ("Impacts"). May 27th.

Moscovitch, A. 1997. "Social Assistance in the New Ontario." (pp: 80-91) in D. Ralph, A. Regimbald and N. St-Amand (eds.), *Mike Harris's Ontario: Open for Business. Closed to People*. Halifax: Fernwood.

National Council of Welfare (NCW). 1997. *Another Look at Welfare Reform: A Report by the National Council of Welfare*. Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO). 1997. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: An Update - March 21, 1997." Ottawa: NAPO.

_____. 1996. "Monitoring the Impacts on Social Assistance Recipients of Welfare Cuts and Changes: October 17, 1996." Ottawa: NAPO.

O'Hara, K. 1997. REFLEXION, Number 2, Securing the Social Union: Next Steps. Ottawa: CPRN.

Ontario Social Service Workers Coordinating Committee 1997. "Ontario's Workfare Plan - What You Should Know." (<http://worldchat.com/public/tab/ossbcc/1cupe.htm>).

Pante, M. 1996a. *Social partnerships, Sustainable Social Policy and Community Capital. Sustainable Social Policy and Community Capital*. Proceedings of the Summer Program at the Institute in Management and Community Development, Concordia University, Montreal, June 18-19. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of Social Policy and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Pante, M. 1996b. *Survey Findings: Building community Capacity and Community Development Leadership*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.

Peters, S. 1995. Exploring Canadian Values-- Foundations for Well-Being. Ottawa: CPRN.

Pettigrew. 1997. "Child Tax Benefit to Face Public Scrutiny." *Globe and Mail*. Sept. 23: A9.

Picot, G. and J. Myles. 1996. "Social Transfers, Changing Family Structure and Low Income

Among Children." Statistics Canada. *Analytical Studies Branch*, Product No. 11F0019E, No. 82.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997a. "The Changing Context of Child and Family Policies." (pp:14-38) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997b. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Discriminating between the 'Deserving' and 'Undeserving' among Poor Families with Children." (pp: 204-208) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Pulkingham, J., G. Ternowetsky and D. Hay. 1997. "The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Eradicating Poverty or Victimizing the Poorest?" *The CCPA Monitor*. Vol 4. No. 1 (May): 6-7.

Pulkingham, J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1996. "The Changing Landscape of Social Policy and the Canadian Welfare State." (pp 2-29) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Putnam, R. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Quarter, J. 1992. *Canada's Social Economy: Cooperatives, Non-Profit and Other Community Enterprises*. Toronto: Lorimer.

Scott, J. T. 1997. in R. Hirshhorn (ed.) *The Emerging Sector: In Search of a Framework*. Ottawa: CPRN.

Social Planning and Research Council of BC (SPARC). 1997. *Widening the Gap: A Comparison Between the Daily Living and Income Assistance Rates (BC Benefits) in British Columbia*. Vancouver: SPARC of BC.

Social Planning Council of Kitchener-Waterloo. 1995. *Common Sense Revolution Impact Reports (1-6)*. Kitchener-Waterloo: Social Planning Council of Kitchener-Waterloo.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT). 1996. "Ontario's Welfare Rate Cuts: An Anniversary Report." The Ontario Social Safety NetWork. Toronto: SPCMT (<http://www.worldchat.com/public/tab/owrc1/htm>).

Stokes J. and G. Ternowetsky. 1997. "Understanding Child Welfare in Canada's Small

Communities." (pp 9-18) in J. Stokes and G. Ternowetsky, *Child Welfare in Northern, Remote and Rural Communities: An Annotated Bibliography*. Prince George: Child Welfare Research Centre, University of Northern British Columbia.

Ternowetsky, G. 1997. "Child Poverty and the National Child Benefit: Disentitlement for the Poorest of Poor Children." *Child Welfare Research Centre Newsletter*. Vol 2. #2:10-13.

Torjman, S. 1997. *Civil Society: Reclaiming our Humanity*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.

Torjman, S. 1996. *Roundtable on Building Community Capacity. Summary*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.

Vaillancourt, Y. 1996. "Remaking Canadian Social Policy: A Quebec Viewpoint." (pp: 81-99) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Valpy, M. 1997. "A downpayment, but where does it lead?" *Globe and Mail*. Feb. 20. 1997. A:12.

White, J. and B. Wybrow (1996). "Investing in the Power of women and the Dreams of Girls- - The Canadian Women's Foundation and Strategic Alliances." In *Sustainable Social Policy and Community Capital*. Proceedings of the Summer Program at the Institute in Management and Community Development, Concordia University, Montreal, June 18-19. Ottawa: Caledon Institute of social Policy and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

An Integrated Child Benefit as a Policy Alternative.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction

After the introduction of the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) in the 1997 Federal Budget (Canada 1997a, 1997b) the Caledon Institute of Social Policy (Caledon 1997:3) suggests that an integrated child benefit is “a powerful weapon against child poverty and promises a number of economic and political advantages that extend beyond the realm of social policy.” A later paper by Battle and Mendelson (1997) of the Caledon Institute presents the new CCTB/NCB (Canada 1997a, 1997b, 1997c) as only an initial step towards an integrated child benefit system. They describe the concept of an integrated child benefit as follows:

“The essence of the concept of an ‘integrated child benefit’ is to provide a common child benefit to all low-income families with children, whether they get their income from work, welfare, Employment Insurance or some combination thereof. Children are ‘removed from welfare’ in the sense that their income benefits come from outside the welfare system. Children in working poor families and other low-income families (e.g. those on Employment Insurance) receive equivalent levels of benefit from the same integrated system as children in welfare families. The term ‘integrated’ denotes the aim of combining current diverse income support expenditures on low-income into a single new system” (Battle and Mendelson 1997 (cbr-3.htm):1).

While these authors treat the CCTB/NCB as only a first step towards an integrated child benefit system, their analysis of what a fully integrated and ‘mature’ child benefit system should look like lists the following objectives (Battle and Mendelson 1997 (cbr-4.htm):7).

- *anti-poverty* - reduce the depth of poverty among Canada’s low-income families, initially among the working poor and, over time, among families relying upon welfare;
- *fairness and reduce barriers to employment* - provide like treatment to families in like circumstances, especially equivalent child benefits to all low-income families, regardless of their source(s) of income, thus helping to break down the welfare wall that can discourage some parents from moving off social assistance and into the workforce;
- *adequacy* - over time, provide a child benefit sufficient for a low-income family to raise a child (e. g. \$4,000);

- *reduce welfare caseloads* - over time, diminish the number of families on welfare by reducing the number going on and increasing the number leaving welfare;
- *promote dignity and independence* - reduce bureaucratic interference in people's lives; diminish reporting requirements; and decrease the number of families on special programs outside the mainstream;
- *simplify administration* - reduce administrative costs, complexity and duplication;
- *economic stabilization* - stimulate demand when the economy is sluggish; reduce demand when the economy is growing too rapidly.

(II) Gaps in Research and Knowledge.

Battle and Mendelson (1997 (cbr-4.htm: 1-9) propose a number of measures for evaluating the extent to which a mature, integrated child benefit system is meeting the above objectives. Their discussion points to a need for more work on developing these measures. It also points to the difficulties in establishing objective measures. A number of suggested measures as they relate to the different objectives of an integrated child benefit system are listed by Battle and Mendelson (1997 (cbr-4.htm:9). These are:

- *anti-poverty* - measured by a decrease in the poverty gap attributable to the child benefit program, where the poverty gap is measured as the amount of income needed for all families to be above the poverty line. This is a controversial suggestion in that it shifts the focus from poverty elimination (moving people above the poverty line) to an analysis of the change in the poverty gap;
- *fairness and reduce barriers to employment*. i) according to the rules and regulations governing welfare in each province, a decrease in both the number of possible family situations, and the number of actual families, in which those on welfare can get higher net income plus benefits than the working poor just as a consequence of welfare and associated benefits paid due to the presence of children in the family. ii) according to the rules and regulations governing child benefits, a decrease in the number of situation in which families of the same structure with equal available incomes do not get equal child benefits; and a decrease in the number of such families (net income and family definition issues);
- *adequacy* - the extent to which the maximum child benefit is adequate for a low income family to meet the incremental costs of raising a child. Battle and Mendelson (1997 (cbr-4.htm):9) use an estimate of around \$4,000 per child but this deserves more

investigation and refinement;

- *reduce welfare caseloads* - econometric analysis of what welfare caseloads would have been in the absence of the initiative (not simply an analysis of whether caseloads are up or down, as this will be mainly due to other factors such as unemployment levels);
- *promote dignity and independence* - assess the number of special forms, reports or requirements of poor or modest-income families compared to others and undertake qualitative research (focus groups, surveys) of satisfaction with the system;
- *economic stabilization* - this is the most difficult of the objectives to measure, as it would require special econometric analysis and would doubtless be subject to many interpretations.

Bibliography

Battle, K. and M. Mendelson. 1997. *Child Benefit Reform in Canada: An Evaluative Framework and Future Directions*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.
(www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-3.htm and [cbr-4.htm](http://www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/cbr-4.htm)).

Caledon Institute of Social Policy. 1997. *The Down Payment Budget*. Ottawa: Caledon Institute.

Canada, 1997a. *Towards a National Child Benefit System*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997b. *Working Together Towards a National Child Benefit*. Ottawa: Department of Finance.

_____. 1997c. *The National Child Benefit: Building a Better Future for Canadian Children*. Ottawa: Federal/Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for Social Services.

Unpaid Caregiving Work.

(I) Current Research.

1. Introduction

Women, particularly single mothers and the elderly, continue to be over represented among the poor in Canada. This high incidence of poverty reflects their relationship to the paid labour market and their unpaid caregiving responsibilities in the home. These latter obligations often prevent women from entering the labour market and assuming long term occupational paths that are typical among men.

In terms of employment, women continue to occupy the lowest paid jobs that normally have few occupational and pension benefits. In addition, because of caregiving responsibilities, their participation in the paid labour market is often interrupted. The high rate of poverty amongst elderly women is a function of the inequalities they normally experience in their working years: few occupational benefits; career interruptions; and dependence on male income which leaves them without secure income when they reach retirement age (Townson 1995). Among single parent women, their poverty arises from many factors: their inability to access adequate paid employment due to their sole caregiving responsibilities; the low pay and insecure employment that normally await women in the job market; and their continued dependence on government income transfers for support.

In the "new economy" this economic marginality will persist as low wage work continues to expand and government downsizing puts increasing pressure on women to undertake more unpaid, caregiving responsibilities (Bach and Rioux 1997; Townson 1997). This situation is compounded by recent reforms to Canada's income security system and the resulting changes to income assistance programs, support services, other public services and the CCTB/NCB (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1996). These reforms have an important impact on mothers, especially lone mothers. This is the result of: 1) the way in which they are redefined as employable when their children are of a younger age; 2) the introduction of work incentives where enhanced income benefits are geared to low income working families only; and because 3) families in receipt of income assistance only are disentitled from a range of benefits (income and services) ostensibly designed to support poor families. These changes are taking place in the context of declining support services such as subsidized childcare and a range of other services provided through the "social wage." As the social wage is eroded and their market and state incomes decline, women will have to purchase more services from the market and/or undertake more unpaid caregiving work (Pulkingham and Ternowetsky 1997).

The above factors reinforce the poverty and economic marginality of women. In an effort to

modify this, policies that provide an income supplement that recognizes the unpaid caregiving work of women have been suggested. The general question of how to define, measure and financially support unpaid caregiving work remains, however, an unresolved public issue. In the past "wages for housework" and a "homemaker's pension" were suggested but stalled as this type of provision requires substantial public investment, particularly if it reflects the *value* of unpaid caregiving work (Statistics Canada 1995; Status of Women Canada 1995).

A number of groups and individuals are undertaking research in this area. For example, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) is examining the Federal government's recent efforts to measure and value unpaid work and the policy implications for Canadians--especially women (Vosko & Ritchie 1997). The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA) also is studying policies to recognize the value of the unpaid labour of child-rearing (essentially by women), e.g. generous family allowances and pensions, extended parental leaves and job sharing (Leduc Browne 1997). In a recent paper on *Women and the Economy: Long-Term Policy Research Issues*, Monica Townson (1997:5) suggests redefining the unpaid work of women into three categories: (1) child care; (2) care for other dependent family members, specifically the elderly and those with disabilities; and (3) volunteer work of a caregiving nature in the community. The latter is included to reflect the reduced role of government in the provision of social services that increasingly pressures women to undertake voluntary caregiving work in the community. Townson also provides a number of unresolved research questions that need to be addressed to assess the "incidence, value and means for rewarding unpaid caregiving work." Townson's (1997) list of unresolved issues are presented in the *Gaps in Research Knowledge* presented below.

Linkages:

- The question as to whether unpaid work should be compensated also is part of the debate about the redistribution of work as a mechanism for reducing unemployment.

(II) *Gaps in Research and Knowledge.*

a) Is unpaid work increasing? Using the above definition:

- What kinds of trends can be observed in unpaid work?
- Is women's share increasing or decreasing? How much unpaid work is being done by men?
- Can we observe any relationship to government cutbacks? To population aging?

- Are more women staying at home to care for children, elderly or disabled family members?
- What development can be observed in work and family policies of employers?

b) How to reward unpaid work?

- Should there be tax credits, drop out provisions in public pension programs, credits for hours worked?
- What concerns are raised by financial rewards being given? Would women be pushed back into traditional caregiving roles? What protection against this needs to be built in?
- How is unpaid caregiving work to be measured if it is to be financially rewarded?
- Will men do caregiving work too? What evidence is there of new trends in this area?

Bibliography

Bach, M. and M. Rioux. 1996. "Devolution and Disability: Back to Notions of the Worthy Poor," (pp: 316-327) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Leduc Browne, P. 1997. personal communication on behalf of the CCPA.

Pulkingham, J. and G. Ternowetsky, 1997. "The Changing Context of Child and Family Policies." (pp 14-38) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.). *Child and Family Policies: Struggles Strategies and Options*. Halifax: Fernwood.

_____. 1996. "The Changing Landscape of Social Policy and the Canadian Welfare State." (pp: 2-29) in J. Pulkingham and G. Ternowetsky (eds.), *Remaking Canadian Social Policy: Social Security in the Late 1990s*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Statistics Canada. 1995. *Household Unpaid Work Measurement and Evaluation*. cat. 13603. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Status of Women Canada. 1995. *Toward a Framework for Evaluation the Policy Implications of Unpaid Work*. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Townson, M. 1997. *Women and the Economy: Long-Term Policy Research Issues*. Unpublished paper prepared for the Status of Women Canada.

Townson, M. 1995. *Reforming the Canada Pension Plan: The Implications for Women*. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Vosko, L. & L. Ritchie. 1997. Personal communication on behalf of NAC.

[D] Recommendations for Future Research.

This section is a strategic summary of the gaps in research outlined in this report. The summary of these recommendations for future research includes a listing of organizations that have highlighted these as important areas for future research.

The CHST and Social Assistance.

- The effect of reduced federal transfers on people that rely on provincial income support and services requires further research. This research needs to establish new measures or benchmarks. These would serve to measure *social* progress, guide decisions around social investment (disinvestment), establish definitions and measures regarding social goals and targets, and guide the allocation of resources and energies that permit a cost-benefit analysis of social programs. Is investing in people cheaper than the costs of poverty over the mid- to long term? This research needs to assess the impact of changes in income security programs on the quality and security of Canadians. What are the impacts on the existence and dynamics of 'races to the bottom' of changing provincial income security programs?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. The Canadian Council on Social Development.
 2. The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy.
 3. National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO).
- The search for benchmarks includes additional research regarding the definitions and measures of poverty/inequality and the adequacy of incomes delivered through income assistance programs. How should we define poverty? Is there a preferred method that "anti-poverty" activists should back?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. The National Council of Welfare
 2. Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia (SPARC of BC)
 3. National Anti-Poverty Organization - NAPO
 4. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
- Changing welfare caseloads. Issues requiring further research involve determining the precise nature of the decline in caseloads. Why are people leaving or not applying for welfare? How

do administrative changes in eligibility requirements affect caseloads? What is the impact of targeting, disenfranchisement and the division of the poor into the “deserving” and “undeserving” on caseloads? Where do people go and how do they survive? How do we locate people that fall through the social safety net? What happens to these people? How long do people remain off welfare? Do shrinking caseloads mean less poverty or more desperation for those leaving welfare? How many move to jobs? Do the living standards of those that find paid employment improve? What are the impact of changes to income security programs on the equality and security of Canadians? What are the interactions between EI and provincial welfare programs? What are the connections between EI, Social Assistance and housing needs?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT) and the Ontario Social Safety NetWork that is affiliated with the SPCMT.
 2. The Canada West Foundation.
 3. Family Services Canada
 4. Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia (SPARC of BC)
 5. Child Welfare Research Centre, University of Northern British Columbia.
- The development of longitudinal data bases and standardized provincial data bases are required to assess the impact on individuals who have experienced the impact of cut backs. Sharing of information is essential to develop a collective understanding of how the provinces are interpreting federal changes in income transfers through the CHST. There is a need to document the fragmentation of Canada’s social assistance programs. There is also a need to develop better information regarding caseloads and clients in the non-government sectors, as well as the views of clients regarding the impact of changes in provincial/territorial welfare systems.

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. The National Council of Welfare
 2. Saskatchewan Social Services
 3. Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia (SPARC of BC)
 4. Canadian Auto Workers.
 5. National Anti-Poverty Organization
- What are the differential effects of cut backs on various age, gender, race, household groupings and communities? How do the loss of national standards impact on the diminution of basic human rights of the poor? Is there a process for holding governments to their international obligations regarding the protection of human rights? What is the impact of these changes on women? Do they infringe on women’s citizenship rights and entitlements as

individuals?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. Social Policy and Research Council of British Columbia.
 2. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto
 3. National Action Committee on the Status of Women.
 4. Regina Food Bank
- What are the feedback effects of changes in public provisions for income security on the public's attitudes, values and hence on the willingness to support further changes to income security programs at the provincial and federal levels?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy.

Informal Support and the Third Sector.

- How do reforms to income security impact on secondary support mechanisms (i.e. community agencies, family supports, friends)? Are cuts to non-profit, community organizations taking place alongside cuts in welfare provisions? Do non-government services deliverers have the capacity to absorb increases in demand stemming from cuts to formal income support programs? How do families use their friends and other family members for support and financial assistance? What are family strengths and coping mechanisms in the face of declining government support?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. Canada West Foundation
2. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto
3. Edmonton Social Planning Council
4. Canadian Association of Food Banks.
5. Family Services Canada

Welfare to Work Programs and Workfare/Trainfare

- What do we mean by successful welfare to work or workfare programs? Do income assistance

programs lead to work disincentives? How do we develop long term tracking of workfare clients? Does workfare reinforce negative self images of the poor? How do these programs weaken the position of workers generally? Is workfare a labour market strategy designed to increase the pool of low wage labour? Does workfare displace other low wage workers? How much more expensive are the costs of workfare programs than passive welfare programs? In a high unemployment economy does workfare simply increase the competition for scarce jobs?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. C. D. Howe Institute
2. Caledon Institute of Social Policy
3. Ontario Social Services Workers Committee
4. National Action Committee on the Status of Women
5. Social Planning Research Council of Metropolitan Toronto

Canada Child Tax Benefit/National Child Benefit.

- What is the impact of the CCTB/NCB on welfare and low-wage families in different parts of the country? What is the impact of the “reinvestment” programs on family and child poverty? How will these differ between provincial and territorial jurisdictions? Will children in welfare families receive any benefit? Are the goals of reducing child poverty and parental dependence on welfare compatible? What are the implications for children in relation to losing a parent to the labour market? How should the impact of the CCTB/NCB on poverty be measured? What are the disadvantages of using a poverty line vs. the poverty gap approach? What happens to families on welfare with children that are disentitled from enriched CCTB/NCB benefits? Is this a new group undeserving poor? What is the impact of this disentanglement on lone parents with children? To what extent do existing income thresholds for enriched benefits exclude the working poor, particularly women who work part-time and receive low wages?
- What does a more mature, integrated child benefits system look like? How should it be evaluated? What incomes are needed to meet the costs of raising children? Will an integrated child benefit system reduce barriers to employment? What impact will a mature, integrated child benefit system have on poverty reduction, the adequacy of benefits, and the reduction of welfare caseloads? How should these be measured?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. Caledon Institute of Social Policy
2. National Council of Welfare
3. Campaign 2000

4. Child Welfare Research Centre

Employment Insurance

Research on the effects of employment insurance reform should focus on three distinct areas. These are the long-term labour market effects, the effects on households of an individual member's unemployment and the gender effect of the introduction of family income testing.

1) Long-term labour market effects:

- What is the impact of UI cuts in income support for the unemployed on labour markets (wages, employment, employment security)?

Put into economic language:

- What are the effects of reductions in income support (through EI and welfare) on wage adaptability and wage adjustments (and consequent effects on aggregate unemployment and NAIRU)?
- What are the impacts on organized labour of changes to the labour market arising from EI reforms? Specifically, how do these changes affect the balance of power between workers and employers?

2) Individual versus household effects.

- What are the impacts on households as distinct from the individual worker?
- To what extent do families serve to insure the prospects of their component members? To what extent can they buffer the shocks of the reduced UI benefit levels, durations, and accessibility?

3) Gender effects and family income testing.

- What are the long-term effects of implementing a family income testing component to determine eligibility for a benefit supplement? How could income support programs be delivered in ways that would preserve women's economic autonomy, while maintaining fairness between families at different family income levels?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. Canadian Auto Workers
2. The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy

3. Monica Townson

Job Creation/Training

Research on job creation and training initiatives should focus on three areas. These are the effectiveness and impact of wage subsidy and supplement schemes, the impact of greater provincial flexibility brought about by implementation of the CHST and the differential effects on women and men.

1) Wage subsidy/supplements.

Research on job creation largely focuses on the effectiveness of schemes designed to move people off welfare or employment insurance (i.e., reduce unemployment and “passive” claims to public resources). These schemes are designed to: 1) act as incentives to employers to hire, retain or train workers by subsidizing employers wage costs (for a period of time); or 2) act as incentives for employees to take lower paying jobs by supplementing their wages for a period of time.

- Are jobs/positions created through wage subsidy and top-up schemes permanent?
- Are these positions new or do they displace other jobs?
- What is the best format for such programs (e.g. subsidizing wage rates-delivered through employers, or earnings supplements-delivered through employees)? (Which of these approaches creates the most permanent jobs which do not displace other jobs?)
- Should these programs be linked with social assistance and other programs?

2) The CHST and provincial flexibility.

- To what extent will the greater flexibility for provincial policy under the CHST promote constructive experiments (e.g. welfare-to-work or better coordination of welfare with training/education programs) as against destructive/restrictive measures?

3) Gender effects

- Will changes to training provisions under EI exacerbate the differential access to training, in particular, the length and type of training received by low income individuals and women?
- Do measures to deal with unemployment have a gender bias? (e.g., infrastructure programs that emphasize men’s work, such as construction; training and retraining programs that are inaccessible to women because child care is unavailable.)

Organizations/individuals suggesting research in this area.

1. The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy
2. Monica Townson

Pensions

Recommendations for research in this area fall into four areas. The areas are horizontal equity, income redistribution, family income testing and the interaction effects on different components of the income retirement system.

1) Horizontal equity

- What does the eclipse of horizontal equity from the Canadian income security system (formalized in the pensions arena with the proposed elimination of the OAS and introduction of the Seniors Benefit) mean in terms of public support for retirement pensions?

2) Income redistribution.

- What is the nature and degree of income redistribution under the current pension arrangement (CPP, OAS/GIS, private pensions) in comparison to redistribution that will take place under the reformed pension arrangement (seniors benefit, revamped CPP and private pensions)?

3) Family-income testing.

- Does the shift to family-income testing for social programs undermine women's economic autonomy? How could income support programs be delivered in ways that would preserve women's autonomy, while maintaining fairness between families at different income levels?

4) Interaction effects on different components of the income retirement system.

- What will be the impact on the number of Seniors Benefit claimants if coverage of occupational pension plans continues to decline; if the low use of RRSP's continues, and if people continue to cash in RRSP savings before retirement?

Organizations/individuals suggesting research in this area.

- 1, The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy
2. Canada West Foundation
3. Michael Prince, University of Victoria
4. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

The Social Economy

1) Social capital

- What are the consequences of increased devolution of power over transfer, social, labour and training policies to the provinces with respect to distributional concerns? How have these changes affected values and attitudes of the public, the social capital that is manifested in political and community participation?
- Does the distribution of "social capital" compound, offset or merely add another dimension to social inequality?
- Do private networks facilitate participation in public processes and how does this affect individual and household (economic and social) well-being?

2) Social cohesion/community capacity building

- How large is the informal support system of families and friends that underlie our social safety net? Who is involved in informal activities and how do they contribute to well-being?
- What is the link between the source of income, adequacy of income and family functioning and resiliency?
- What is the interdependency between social infrastructure, community cohesion and income support? Does one substitute for the other or are they complements?
- Is social cohesion undermined by the trend to individual responsibility and reducing the role of government?
- What is the impact of the continued inequality of women on "social cohesion"?

Organizations/individuals suggesting research in this area.

1. The University of British Columbia Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy
2. Canada West Foundation
3. Monica Townson
4. Canadian Policy Research Network
5. Family Services Canada

Unpaid Caregiving Work

In an effort to deal with the poverty and economic marginality of women, policies that recognize the unpaid caregiving work of women have been suggested. The general questions of how to define, measure and financially support unpaid caregiving work remain unresolved. Research questions in this area are: Is unpaid caregiving work increasing? How is this work to be measured if it is to be financially rewarded? What mechanisms are available for rewarding this unpaid work? What protections need to be built in to ensure women are not pushed back into traditional roles?

Organizations suggesting research in this area.

1. Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
2. National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

Appendix

Questionnaire

Income Security Reform in Canada

Income Security Reform in Canada Questionnaire

Below are several questions on income security reform in Canada. Other questions address your views concerning key research issues and priorities regarding these reforms. We would appreciate it if you could answer each question as completely as possible.

1. Recent and impending changes to income security in Canada include implementation of the CHST, and reforms in the following areas: Unemployment/Employment Insurance, public and private pensions, welfare (provincial income assistance programs) and the Canada Child Tax Benefit / National Child Benefit.

- a. In your view what are some of the key issues for the income security of Canadians arising from the above changes to income security?

- b. In your view what are the priority issues for research that evolve from the above changes to income security?

- c. Are there any other priority issues for research arising from other changes to income security not included in the changes listed above?

2. If you and/or your organization are currently engaged in research on the impact of income security reform would you please

- a. List the current research you are involved in.

- b. Describe the key issues that have been identified for this research.

- c. List the titles of documents, research proposals, working papers and other publications that have been developed from your current research on income security reform. (If you prefer, please attach a list of these titles.)

3. You and/or your organization may not be involved currently in research on income security in Canada. However, you may be planning research regarding the impact of recent income security reforms. If this is the case, would you please describe the key research priorities and issues you plan to research?

4. Do the recent reforms to income security in Canada raise other issues for you in terms of gaps in knowledge and/or other research priorities regarding income security reform.

a. Gaps in knowledge

b. Other research priorities regarding income security reforms in Canada

5 Would you please add the name and organizational affiliation of the person that answered this questionnaire.

Name: _____

Organizational Affiliation: _____

Thank-you for your assistance in completing this questionnaire. If you are returning the completed questionnaire to us by mail or fax we would appreciate receiving this before September 30th.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact either of us.

Jane Pulkingham
Sociology and Anthropology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6
Phone: (604) 291-3388
Fax: (604) 291-5799
E-mail: pulkingh@sfu.ca

Gordon Ternowetsky
Social Work Program
University of Northern British Columbia
Prince George, BC V2N 4Z9
Phone: (250) 960-6620
Fax: (250) 960-5536
E-mail: gordon@unbc.ca

**A Review of Canadian Institutions
Involved in
Income Security Research**

Table of Contents

Non-University Research Institutes/Research Consultants

1.	C.D. Howe Institute	3
2.	Caledon Institute of Social Policy	7
3.	Canada West Foundation	10
4.	Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD)	11
5.	The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives	15
6.	Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN)	23
7.	Canadian Research Institute on the Advancement of Women	26
8.	The Council of Canadians	27
9.	The Fraser Institute	28
10.	The Donner Institute	28

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)

1.	Campaign 2000	30
2.	Child Poverty Action Group	30
3.	Community Action on Poverty Coalition	30
4.	Edmonton Social Planning Council	31
5.	Family Services Canada	32
6.	First Call	33
7.	Mennonite Central Committee	35
8.	National Action Committee on the Status of Women	35
9.	National Anti-Poverty Organization	36
10.	Canadian Association of Food banks	38
11.	Ontario Social Development Council	38
12.	Ontario Social Service Worker Committee	38
13.	Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia	39
14.	Social Planning Coalition of Metropolitan Toronto	39
15.	Social Planning Council of Winnipeg	43
16.	Toronto Coalition against Homelessness	44
17.	United Way of Canada	44
18.	Winnipeg Harvest	45
19.	Community Services Council of Newfoundland/Labrador	46
20.	Regina Food bank	46
21.	Social Research and Demonstration Corporation	46

University/Academic

1.	Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy	48
2.	John Deutsch Institute for the study of economic policy	48
3.	Roehr Institute	49
4.	SARU	49
5.	School of Policy Studies- Queens University	49
6.	Child Welfare Research Center	50

Government

1.	Canadian Employment Research Forum	51
2.	Employability and Social Planning Division	51
3.	Human Resources Development Canada	51
4.	The National Council on Welfare	54
5.	Status of Women Canada	55
6.	British Columbia/Yukon	57
7.	Government of Saskatchewan	57
8.	Canadian Employment Research Forum	57

Unions

1.	British Columbia Teachers Federation	59
2.	Canadian AutoWorkers	59
3.	Canadian Labour Congress	59
4.	Trade Union Research Bureau	59
5.	Saskatchewan Government Employees Union	59

Non-University Research Institutes/Research Consultants

1. C.D.Howe Institute

125 Adelaide St. East

Toronto, Ontario M5C 1L7

Tel: 416-865-1904

Fax: 416-864-1866

E-mail: cdhowe@cdhowe.org

Web Page: <http://www.cdhowe.org>

Contact: Thoms Kierans (Pres. and Exec. Officer)

Ken Boessenkool, Policy Analyst, E-mail: kenjb@cdhowe.org

Mandate/ Mission Statement: The C.D. Howe Institute was formed in 1973. It is a non-profit organization that conducts research on economic and social policy. The C.D. Howe Institute has its origins in the Private Planning Association of Canada (PPAC), which was formed in 1958 by business and labor leaders to undertake research and educational activities on economic policy issues. In 1973, the PPAC merged with the C.D. Howe Memorial Foundation to become the C.D. Howe Research Institute (HRI). The Foundation had been created in 1961 to memorialize the late Rt. Hon. Clarence Decatur Howe, who served Canada as Minister of Trade and Commerce, among other elected capacities, between 1935 and 1957. In 1981, HRI was dissolved, the Foundation again became a separate entity and the reconstituted PPAC was renamed the C.D. Howe Institute.

Activities: Objectivity, for the C.D. Howe Institute, means refraining from polemics, keeping an open mind about solutions to difficult problems, encouraging support and input from a broad private sector membership base, and engaging in regular, substantive discussions with federal and provincial government policymakers.

Publications: web page: <http://www.cdhowe.org/eng/pub/frame.html>

- Russell, Peter and Bruce Ryder. Ratifying a Post-referendum Agreement on Quebec Sovereignty. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 97 (October 1997). ISBN 0-88806-416-0
- William B.P. Robson. The Paradox of the Fiscal Dividend: The Bigger It Looks, the Smaller It Gets. C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder (October 1997).
- Alan, C. Cairns. Looking into the Abyss: The Need for a Plan C. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 96 (September 1997). ISBN 0-88806-416-0. 32 pp.
- Kenneth J. Boessenkool, William B.P. Robson, and David Laidler. More Money Than Is Good for Us: Why the Bank of Canada Should Tighten Monetary Policy. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 95 (July 1997). ISBN 0-88806-415-2. 16 pp.
- William B.P. Robson, and William Scarth, eds. Equality and Prosperity: Finding Common Ground. Policy Study 30 (1997). ISBN 0-88806-408-X. 170 pp..
- Janice Gross Stein, David R. Cameron, and Richard Simeon with Alan Alexandroff. Citizen Engagement
- James E. Pesando. From Tax Grab to Retirement Saving: Privatizing the CPP Premium Hike. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 93 (June 1997). ISBN 0-88806-413-6. 20 pp.
- William Scarth. A Job-Creation Strategy for Governments with No Money. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 92 (April 1997). ISBN 0-88806-410-1. 20 pp.
- Kenneth J. Boessenkool. Back to Work: Learning from the Alberta Welfare Experiment. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 90 (April 1997). ISBN 0-88806-409-8. 32 pp.

- Daniel Schwanen. *Trading Up: The Impact of Increased Continental Integration on Trade, Investment, and Jobs in Canada*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 89 (March 1997). ISBN 0-88806-349-0. 32 pp.
- William B.P. Robson. *Ottawa's Incredible Disappearing Act: Canadians pay billions more in tax than the budget shows, and the gap is growing*. C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder (March 1997).
- John Grant, Peter Howitt and Pierre L. Siklos. *Where We Go from Here: Inflation Targets in Canada's Monetary Policy Regime*. Policy Study 29 (March 1997). ISBN 0-88806-405-5 300 pp.
- Gibbins, Roger with the assistance of Katherine Harmsworth. *Time Out: Assessing Incremental Strategies for Enhancing the Canadian Political Union*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 88 (February 1997). ISBN 0-88806-404-7. 28 pp.
- Laidler, David E.W. and William B.P. Robson. *The Bank of Canada and the Economy: Has the Referee Put Away the Whistle?* C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder (February 1997).
- Slater, David W. *The Pension Squeeze: The Impact of the March 1996 Federal Budget*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 87 (February 1997). ISBN 0-88806-401-1. 32 pp.
- Boessenkool, Kenneth J. and William B.P. Robson. *Ending the Training Tangle: The Case against Federal-Provincial Programs under EI*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 86 (February 1997). ISBN 0-88806-403-9. 16 pp.
- Finnie, Ross and Saul Schwartz. *Student Loans in Canada: Past, Present, and Future*. Observation 43 (December 1996). ISBN 0-88806-402-0. 162 pp.
- Burbidge, John B., et. al. *When We're 65: Reforming Canada's Retirement Income System*. The Social Policy Challenge 13, 1996 (December 1996). ISBN 0-88806-359-8. 228 pp.
- Lipsey, Richard G. *Economic Growth, Technological Change, and Canadian Economic Policy*. Benefactors Lecture, 1996 (November 1996). 87 pp.
- Nakamura, Alice. *Employment Insurance: A Framework for Real Reform*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 85 (October 1996). ISBN 0-88806-401-2. 12 pp.
- Boessenkool, Kenneth J. and William B. P. Robson.
- *Price Stability: A Success Worth Defending*.
- C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder (October 1996).
- Richards, John. *Language Matters: Ensuring That the Sugar Not Dissolve in the Coffee*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 84 (October 1996). ISBN 0-88806-403-9. 42 pp.
- Mintz, Jack M. and James E. Pesando, eds. *Putting Consumers First: Reforming the Canadian Financial Services Industry*. C.D. Howe Institute Policy Study 27 (September 1996). ISBN 0-88806-388-1. 104 pp.
- Sauvé, Pierre and Daniel Schwanen, eds. *Investment Rules for the Global Economy: Enhancing Access to Markets*. C.D. Howe Institute Policy Study 28 (September 1996). ISBN 0-88806-386-5. 332 pp.
- Iacobucci, Edward with Michael Trebilcock. *Value for Money: Executive Compensation in the 1990s*. C.D. Howe Institute Observation 41 (September 1996). ISBN 0-88806-393-8. 178 pp.
- Monahan, Patrick J., and Michael J. Bryant with Nancy Côté. *Coming to Terms with Plan B: Ten Principles Governing Secession*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 83 (June 1996). 0-88806-400-4. 56 pp.
- Schwanen, Daniel. *Drawing on Our Inner Strength: Canada's Economic Citizenship in an Era of Evolving Federalism*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 82 (June 1996). 0-88806-397-0. 20 pp.
- Howse, Robert. *Securing the Canadian Economic Union: Legal and Constitutional Options for the Federal Government*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 81 (June 1996). 0-88806-399-7. 20 pp.
- Boessenkool, Kenneth J. *The Illusion of Equality: Provincial Distribution of the Canada Health and Social Transfer*. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 80 (June 1996). 0-88806-398-9. 24 pp.

- Horstmann, Ignatius J., G. Frank Mathewson, and Neil C. Quigley. Ensuring Competition: Bank Distribution of Insurance Products. C.D. Howe Institute Observation 40 (May 1996). 0-88806-392-X. 110 pp.
- "Group of 22" Making Canada Work Better May 1996
- Boessenkool, Kenneth J., David Laidler, and William B.P. Robson. Devils in the Details: Improving the Tactics of Recent Canadian Monetary Policy. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 79 (April 1996). 0-88806-395-4. 20 pp.
- Barley, Stephen R. The New World of Work. British-North American Committee 40 (April 1996). 0-902594-54-0. 59 pp.
- Beach, Charles, M., and George A. Slotsve. Are We Becoming Two Societies? Income Polarization and the Myth of the Declining Middle Class in Canada. The Social Policy Challenge 12 (March 1996). 0-88806-343-1. 190 pp.
- Neave, Edwin H. Canadian Financial Regulation: A System in Transition. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 78 (March 1996). 0-88806-390-3. 28 pp.
- Scarth, William. Beyond the Deficit: Generation X and Sustainable Debt. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 77 (February 1996). 0-88806-391-1. 20 pp.
- Cadsby, Charles Bram, and Kenneth Woodside. Canada and the New Subsidies Code. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 75 (February 1996). 0-88806-389-X. 12 pp.
- Robson, William B.P. Putting Some Gold in the Golden Years: Fixing the Canada Pension Plan. C.D. Howe Institute Commentary 76 (January 1996). 0-88806-387-3. 28 pp.
- Belous, Richard S., ed. Information Technology and Corporations: An Interview with Professor Edward A. Feigenbaum. British-North American Committee Issues Paper No. 4 (January 1996). 0-89068-133-3. 47 pp.
- Drost, Helmar, Brian Lee Crowley and Richard Schwindt. Market Solutions for Native Poverty: Social Policy for the Third Solitude. The Social Policy Challenge 11 (December 1995). 0-88806-350-4. 172 pp.
- Nicholls, Christopher C. Government Procurement after the Uruguay Round. Commentary 74. (December 1995). ISBN 0-88806-384-9. 16 pp.
- Leycegui, Beatriz, William B.P. Robson, and Dahlia Stein, eds. Trading Punches: Trade Remedy Law and Disputes Under NAFTA. North American Committee 1 (December 1995). 0-89068-134-1. 234 pp.
- Crow, John W. Two and a Half Cheers for Canadian Monetary Sovereignty. Commentary 73 (November 1995). 0-88806-385-7. 20 pp.
- Courchene, Thomas J. Redistributing Money and Power: A Guide to the Canada Health and Social Transfer. Observation Series 39 (November 1995). ISBN 0-88806-383-0. 122 pp.
- Chandler, Mark, and David Laidler. Too Much Noise: The Debate on Foreign Exchange Rate Variability and Policies to Control It. Commentary 72 (October 1995). 0-88806-382-2. 32 pp.
- Courchene, Thomas J. Celebrating Flexibility: An Interpretive Essay on the Evolution of Canadian Federalism. Benefactors Lecture, 1995 (October 1995). 75 pp.
- Trebilcock, Michael J., and Daniel Schwanen, eds. Getting There: An Assessment of the Agreement on Internal Trade. Policy Study 26 (September 1995). 0-88806-381-4. 226 pp.
- Adams, Roy J., Gordon Betcherman, and Beth Bilson, with Roger Phillips and John O'Grady. Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, No Jobs: Tough Choices for Canadian Labor Law. The Social Policy Challenge 10 (September 1995). 0-88806-352-0. 198 pp.

- May, Doug, and Alton Hollett, with Brian Lee Crowley and Lars Osberg. *The Rock in a Hard Place: Atlantic Canada and the UI Trap*. *The Social Policy Challenge* 9 (August 1995). 0-88806-356-3. 244 pp.
- Neufeld, Edward P. *Quebec Separation and the Public Debt*. *Commentary* 71 (July 1995). ISBN 0-88806-379-2. 24 pp.
- Neufeld, Edward P. *La séparation du Québec et la dette publique*. *Commentaire* 71 (juillet 1995). ISBN 0-88806-380-6. 28 pp.
- Doern, G. Bruce. *Fairer Play: Canadian Competition Policy Institutions in a Global Market*. *Policy Study* 25 (June 1995). ISBN 0-88806-378-4. 222 pp.
- Dooley, Martin D., et. al. *Family Matters: New Policies for Divorce, Lone Mothers, and Child Poverty*. *The Social Policy Challenge* 8 (June 1995). ISBN 0-88806-354-7. 290 pp.
- Thomason, Terry, et. al. *Chronic Stress: Workers' Compensation in the 1990s*. *The Social Policy Challenge* 7 (June 1995). ISBN 0-88806-357-1. 178 pp.
- Fallis, George, et. al. *Home Remedies: Rethinking Canadian Housing Policy*. *The Social Policy Challenge* 6 (April 1995). ISBN 0-88806-353-9. 244 pp.
- Crow, John W. *Floating Exchange Rates: Here to Stay*. *Commentary* 70 (April 1995). 0-88806-371-7. 12 pp.
- Schwanen, Daniel. *Break Up to Make Up: Trade Relations after a Quebec Declaration of Sovereignty*. *Commentary* 69 (March 1995). 0-88806-376-8. 16 pp.
- Schwanen, Daniel. *Séparation et réconciliation: les relations commerciales qui suivraient la souveraineté du Québec*. *Commentaire* 69 (March 1995). 0-88806-377-6. 20 pp.
- Rabe, Barry G. *Beyond NIMBY: Hazardous Waste Siting in Canada and the United States*. *Canadian-American Committee* (March 1995). 0-8157-7307-2. 199 pp.
- Robson, William B.P. *Change for a Buck? The Canadian Dollar after Quebec Secession*. *Commentary* 68 (March 1995). 0-88806-374-1. 20 pp.
- Robson, William B.P. *On rend la monnaie? Le dollar canadien après la sécession du Québec*. *Commentaire* 68 (March 1995). 0-88806-375-X. 20pp.
- Hartt, Stanley H., O.C., Q.C. *Divided Loyalties: Dual Citizenship and Reconstituting the Economic Union*. *Commentary* 67 (March 1995). 0-88806-372-5. 16 pp.
- Hartt, Stanley H., O.C., c.r. *Conflits d'appartenance: La double citoyenneté et la réorganisation de l'union économique*. *Commentaire* 67 (March 1995). 0-88806-373-3. 16 pp.
- Laidler, David E., and William B.P. Robson. *Don't Break the Bank! The Role of Monetary Policy in Deficit Reduction*. *Commentary* 66 (February 1995). 0-88806-370-9. 19 pp.
- Richards, John, and Aidan Vining, et. al. *Helping the Poor: A Qualified Case for "Workfare"*. *The Social Policy Challenge* 5 (February 1995). ISBN 0-88806-341-5. 206 pp.
- DeVoretz, Don J., ed. *Diminishing Returns: The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy*. *Policy Study* 24 (February 1995). 0-88806-365-2. 381 pp.
- Monahan, Patrick J. *Cooler Heads Shall Prevail: Assessing the Costs and Consequences of Quebec Separation*. *Commentary* 65 (January 1995). 0-88806-363-6. 36 pp.
- Monahan, Patrick J. *Les têtes froides l'emporteront: L'évaluation des coûts et des conséquences de la séparation du Québec*. *Commentaire* 65 (janvier 1995). 0-88806-368-7. 40 pp.

2. **Caledon Institute of Social Policy**

1600 Scott Street, Suite 620

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

K1Y 4N7

Tel: (613) 729-3340

Fax: (613) 729-3896

E-Mail: caledon@cyberplus.ca

Web Page: www.cyberplus.ca/~caledon/pubs.htm

Contact Person: Sherri Torjman, Ken Battle

Mandate/Mission Statement: Canada's Voice for Progressive, Practicable Social Policy Established in 1992, the Caledon Institute of Social Policy is a leading private, non-profit social policy think tank that conducts social policy research and analysis. As an independent and critical voice that does not depend on government funding.

Activities: Caledon seeks to inform and influence public and expert opinion and to foster public discussion on poverty and social policy. Caledon develops and promotes concrete, practicable proposals for the reform of social programs at all levels of government and of social benefits provided by employers and the voluntary sector.

Caledon Publications:

- Missing a Chance for a Solid Punch at Poverty. Ken Battle, June, 1992.
- Child Benefit Primer: A Response to the Government Proposal. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, July, 1992.
- Federal Social Programs: Setting the Record Straight. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, Spring, 1993.
- Plain Talk: Not When Ottawa Has Its Way. Sherri Torjman, June, 1993.
- The Squeeze on Social Spending. Ken Battle, June, 1993.
- Social Policy in Real Time. Michael Mendelson, Summer, 1993.
- The Health and Welfare of Social Programs. Sherri Torjman, July, 1993.
- Breaking Down the Welfare Wall. Sherri Torjman and Ken Battle, July, 1993.
- The Welfare Wall: Reforming the Welfare and Tax Systems. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, Summer, 1993.
- Federal Social Policy Agenda. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, September, 1993.
- Thinking the Unthinkable: A Targeted, Not Universal, Old Age Pension. Ken Battle, October 1993.
- Opening the Books on Social Spending. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, Fall, 1993.
- Fiscal Federalism and You. Sherri Torjman, December, 1993.
- Fiscal Federalism for the 21st Century. Edited by Sherri Torjman, December 1993.
- Can the Finance Ministers Play Hockey? Sherri Torjman, December, 1993.
- Social Programs: Tail or Dog? Sherri Torjman, February, 1994.
- Shifting Gears on the Social Highway. Sherri Torjman, April, 1994.
- Small Technicality; Big Problem. , Sherri Torjman, April, 1994.
- Weathering the Social Review. Sherri Torjman, June, 1994.
- Seniors Beware: This Review is For You Too. Sherri Torjman, July, 1994.
- Axworthy's Armada: Becalmed or Lost at Sea. Ken Battle, August, 1994.
- The Design of the Ontario Child Income Program. Nancy Naylor, Ruth Abbott and Elizabeth Hewner, Fall, 1994.

- Green Light, Red Flag: Caledon Statement on the Social Security Review. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, October, 1994.
- A New Social Vision for Canada? Perspectives on the Federal Discussion Paper on Social Security Reform. Edited by Keith Banting and Ken Battle, October, 1994.
- Is CAP in Need of Assistance? Sherri Torjman, October 1994.
- Old Wine in New Bottles: Privatizing Old Age Pensions. John Myles with a reply by Ken Battle, December 1994. Critical Commentaries on the Social Security Review. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, January 1995.
- Proceedings of the Colloquium on Child Poverty, January, 1995.
- One Way to Fight Child Poverty. Ken Battle and Leon Muszynski, January, 1995.
- Social Investing in People is Good Business. Sherri Torjman, February 1995.
- Government Fights Growing Gap Between Rich and Poor. Ken Battle, February 1995.
- The Comprehensive Reform of Social Programs: Brief to the Standing Committee on Human Resources Development. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, February 1995.
- Saving the Review. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, February 1995.
- The Dangers of Block Funding. Sherri Torjman and Ken Battle, February 1995.
- Government Fights Growing Gap Between Rich and Poor. K. Battle, February 1995.
- How Finance Re-Formed Social Policy. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, April 1995.
- Constitutional Reform by Stealth. Ken Battle, May 1995.
- CHST Spells COST for Disabled. Sherri Torjman, May 1995.
- Can We Have National Standards? Sherri Torjman and Ken Battle, May 1995.
- CHST Spells COST for Disabled. Sherri Torjman, May 1995.
- The Let-Them-Eat-Cake. Sherri Torjman, May 1995.
- The Role of Housing in Social Policy. 7th Annual Social Welfare Policy Conference in Vancouver, B.C., June 1995.
- Le rôle du logement dans la politique sociale. Septième congrès de la politique sociale canadienne, Vancouver, (Colombie-Britannique), juin 1995.
- Milestone or Millstone? The Legacy of the Social Security Review. Sherri Torjman, August 1995.
- Looking for Mr. Good-Transfer: A Guide to the CHST Negotiations. Michael Mendelson, October 1995.
- Social Policy After the Referendum. Michael Mendelson, October 1995.
- Warm Heart, Cold Country: Fiscal and Social Policy Reform in Canada. Edited by Daniel Drache and Andrew Ranachan, October, 1995.
- Social Policy Before the Next Referendum. Michael Mendelson, November 1995.
- Lest We Forget: Why Canada Needs Strong Social Programs. Ken Battle and Sherri Torjman, November 1995.
- The Canada Health and Social Transfer: A Threat to the Health, Development and Future Productivity of Canada's Children and Youth. Dr. Paul Steinhauer, November 1995.
- The Market's Revenge: Old Age Security and Social Rights. John Myles, November 1995.
- The Equity, Efficiency and Symbolism of National Standards in an Era of Provincialism \$5.95, Lars Osberg, January 1996.
- Proceedings of the Roundtable on Canada's Aging Society and Retirement Income System. January, 1996.

- The Government as Robin Hood. School of Policy Studies, Queen's University and the Caledon Institute of Social Policy, .C. Ruggeri, D. Van Wart, R. Howard, February 1996.
- Can Workfare Work? Reflections from History. James Struthers, February, 1996.
- Workfare: A Poor Law. Sherri Torjman, February, 1996.
- The 1996 Budget and Social Policy, March 1996.
- The Primary Needs of Children: A Blueprint for Effective Health Promotion at the Community Level: Paul D. Steinhauer, M.D., April, 1996.
- Social Partnerships Project. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, May, 1996.
- Proceedings of Experts' Forum on Canada Pension Plan Reform. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, May, 1996.
- Proceedings of a Round Table on Canada Pension Plan Reform: Gender Implications. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, May, 1996.
- Sustainable Social Policy and Community Capital. Session Proceedings, June 18 and 19, 1996.
- La politique sociale durable et l'investissement communautaire les 18 et 19 juin 1996.
- National Child Benefit: An Idea Whose Time has Come. Ken Battle, June, 1996.
- Good Idea, Bad Execution: The Government's Child Support Package: Ross Finnie, June, 1996
- Sustainable Social Policy and Community Capital. Session Proceedings, June 18 and 19, 1996.
- Does Canada Need Ottawa? Sherri Torjman, June, 1996.
- Summary of the Roundtable on the Report of the Ministerial Council of Canada. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, June, 1996.
- The Provinces' Position: A Second Chance for the Social Security Review? Michael Mendelson, June, 1996.
- Does Canada Need Ottawa? Sherri Torjman, June, 1996.
- The Provinces' Position: A Second Chance for the Social Security Review? Michael Mendelson, June, 1996.
- Results of Survey on Building Community Capacity and Community Development Leadership. Michelle Pante, November, 1996.
- Social Partnerships Project. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, November, 1996.
- Dollars for Services aka Individualized Funding. Sherri Torjman, November 1996.
- Building Community Capacity Roundtable. Sherri Torjman, November, 1996.
- History/Hysteria. Sherri Torjman and Ken Battle, December 1996.
- Precarious Labour Market Fuels Rising Poverty. Ken Battle, December 1996.
- Disentanglement - or Disengagement? Sherri Torjman, January 1997.
- Desperate for Respite. Sherri Torjman, January 1997.
- The Down Payment Budget, February 1997.
- Civil Society. Sherri Torjman, March 1997.
- The Montreal Community Loan Association and Social Partnerships, Lance Evoy, March 1997.
- Social Partnerships Project, Caledon Institute of Social Policy, March 1997.
- The Disability Income System in Canada: Options for Reform. Sherri Torjman, March 1997.
- Using the Economy to Develop the Community: Psychiatric Survivors in Ontario. Kathryn Church.
- Summary of the Roundtable on the Report of the Ministerial Council on Social Policy Reform and Renewal, April 1997.
- On Magnets and Magnates, May 1997.
- Social Reinvestment: Memorandum to the Next Prime Minister of Canada. Caledon Institute of Social Policy, May, 1997.

3. Canada West Foundation

#550, 630-3rd Ave SW

Calgary, Alberta, Canada

T2P 4L4

Tel: (403) 264-9535

Fax: (403) 269-4776

E-mail: cwf@freenet.calgary.ab.ca

E-mail address for on-line publications: <http://www.cwf.ca/newrel.html>

Web Page: www.cwf.ca/bkground.html

Contact : Jason Azmier E-mail: JJazmier@freenet.calgary.ab.ca

Mandate: The Canada West Foundation is a non-partisan and non-profit organization active in economic, constitutional, and social policy research, particularly as it relates to Western Canada.

Activities: Canada West Foundation is directed to accomplish three primary objectives. to conduct research into the economic and social characteristics of the West and North, within a national and international context; to educate individuals regarding the West's regional economic and social contributions to the Canadian federation; and to act as a catalyst for informed debate.

The Foundation is governed by the Canada West Council which is made up of 25-30 prominent Canadians committed to the social and economic well-being of Canada.

Canada West Foundation Publications:

Canada West Foundation has begun work on an exciting new study called the Pyramid Project. The goal of the Pyramid Project is to provide voluntary agencies, governments, businesses, and Canadians with concrete information about the benefits and costs of alternative social service delivery arrangements and their impact on the voluntary sector. This will be done by accumulating and assessing:

- (1) existing research on alternative delivery mechanisms in four countries (England, USA, Australia, and New Zealand), and six Canadian provinces (New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia);
- (2) gathering information on existing relationships between government, voluntary agencies and businesses in the six provinces under consideration;
- (3) tracking changes to these relationships and their impact on voluntary agencies over the next five years in the six provinces under consideration;
- (4) developing practical recommendations that will promote effectiveness and efficiency in these relationships and service delivery.

Additional Publications:

- Welfare Reform in Alberta: A Survey of Former Recipients. From the Social Policy Archive #9713, released September 25, 1997

- **Meaningful Consultation: A Contradiction in Terms?** from the Constitutional / Public Policy Archive #9712 released September 24, 1997.
- **Where are they Now?: Assessing the Impact of Welfare Reform on Former Recipients.** Executive Summary from the Social Policy Archive #9711, released September 1997.
- **Where are They Now?: Assessing the Impact of Welfare Reform on Former Recipients.** Main Report from the Social Policy Archive #9711, released September 1997.
- **The Safety Net and Seniors in Alberta.** From the Social Policy Archive #9710, released September 1997.
- **Social Services for Persons With Disabilities in Alberta.** From the Social Policy Archive #9709, released September 1997.
- **Restructuring of Social Services: The Impact on Women in Alberta.** From the Social Policy Archive #9708, released September 1997.
- **Alberta's Children: Issues, Programs and Restructuring.** From the Social Policy Archive #9707, released September 1997.

4. Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD)

441 MacLaren Street, 4th Floor

Ottawa, ON K2P 2H3

Tel: (613) 236-8977

Fax: (613) 236-2750

Email: council@ccsd.ca

Web Page: <http://www.ccsd.ca>

or: <http://www.achilles.net/~council/>

Contact: Clarence Lochhead

Mandate/Activities: The Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) is an independent, national, non-profit research organization focusing on issues of income and social security. The Canadian Council on Social Development is a voluntary organization whose mission is to develop and promote progressive social policies inspired by social justice, equality and the empowerment of individuals and communities through research, consultation, public education and advocacy.

CCSD Publications and Online Documents:

- New Releases
- CCSD Briefs, Reports, News Releases and Policy Statements
- CCSD Publications Catalogue
- Publications Order Form
- Perception -- CCSD's magazine (tables of contents, and selected articles)
- Insight: An Information Series
- Vis-à-vis: Canada's National Newsletter on Family Violence
- Speech by David Ross (Measuring social progress, starting with the well-being of Canada's children, youth and families)

Additional topics of publications:

- Community Development
- Employment
- Family
- Health
- Income Security
- Poverty
- Self-Help
- Social Policy
- Social Indicators

Community Development / Développement Communautaire:

- No Place Like Home: Building Sustainable Communities
- Rebâtir Montréal Autrement
- Safer Communities
- From the Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered
- New Age Business: Community Corporations that Work
- Employment and Social Development in a Changing Economy
- L'emploi et le développement social au sein d'une économie changeante
- Organizing for the Homeless
- From the Grass Roots: A critical Consciousness Approach to Social Justice in P.E.I

Employment / L'emploi Canada

- Les Coupures de Personnel du Secteur Public: L'impact sur la qualité de l'emploi au Canada
- Are women catching up in the earnings race?
- Left Poor by the Market: A look at family earnings and poverty
- Temporary Employment in Canada: Profiles, Patterns & Policy Considerations
- The Road to Retirement: Demographic and Economic Changes in the 90s
- La Retraite : Changements démographiques et économiques des dernières années
- Public Sector Downsizing: The Impact on Job Quality

Indians on Reserves:

- L'éducation comme investissement pour les Indiens des réserves
- Policies for Full Employment
- The Future of Work in Canada
- L'avenir du travail au Canada
- Employability
- L'employabilité

Family / Famille

- Voices of Aboriginal Women: Aboriginal Women Speak Out About Violence
- La violence au grand jour: les femmes Autochtones rompent le silence
- Family Violence in a Patriarchal Culture: A Challenge to Our Way of Living
- Stepmothers: Exploring the Myth
- Native Children and the Child Welfare System

Health / La Santé

- Living with a Disability in Canada: An Economic Portrait
- Active Communities
- Des communautés actives
- The Role of Local Government in the Provision of Health and Social Services in Canada
- Community-Based Health and Social Services
- Les soins de santé et les services sociaux communautaires

Income Security / La Sécurité des Revenus

- Left Poor by the Market: A look at family earnings and poverty
- Women and Pensions: Fact Sheets
- The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty -- 1994
- Données de base sur la pauvreté au Canada -- 1994
- The Canadian Fact Book on Income Security Programs
- Family Security in Insecure Times (Volume 1)
- La sécurité des familles en période d'insécurité (Volume 1)
- Le B.S. : Mythes et réalités! Guide de conscientisation
- Work and Income in the Nineties (WIN) : Discussion Papers

Poverty / La Pauvreté

- Left Poor by the Market: A Look at Family Earnings and Poverty
- A Statistical Profile of Urban Poverty
- Child Poverty: What are the Consequences?
- La pauvreté des enfants : Quelles en sont les conséquences?
- The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty - 1994
- Poverty Among Young Families and their Integration into Society and the Work Force: An Ontario-Québec comparison
- Pauvreté et insertion sociale et professionnelle des jeunes familles: une comparaison Québec/Ontario
- Appauvrissement des jeunes familles québécoises : l'urgence d'agir!
- Campaign 2000 (child poverty collection)
- Campagne 2000
- Food Banks and the Welfare Crisis
- Not Enough: The Meaning and Measurement of Poverty in Canada
- Trop Peu: Définition et évaluation de la pauvreté au Canada

Self-Help / L'entraide

- Self-Help and Mental Health: Beyond Psychiatry
- Entraide et débrouillardise sociale : Au-delà de la psychiatrie
- The Self-Help Way : Mutual Aid and Health
- Les groupes d'entraide et la santé : nouvelles solidarités
- Helping You Helps Me
- Je vous aide en m'aidant
- Report on the National Meeting of Self-Help Clearinghouses
- Report on the First Western Regional Self-Help Conference: Building Bridges
- Resources for Self-Help: Materials Held by NVO's in Canada
- North American Self-Help Resource Catalogue

Social Policy / La Politique Sociale

- 1920-1995, 75 Years of Community Service to Canada: CCSD
- Job Creation Measures
- An Overview of Canadian Social Policy
- The Future of Canada's Social Programs
- Directory of Canadian Social Policy Resources
- Perception (CCSD's bilingual magazine -- selected articles available online)(en français)
- Aboriginal Values and Social Services: The Kahnawake Experience
- Les valeurs autochtones face aux services sociaux : Le modèle de Kahnawake
- Free Trade and Social Policy
- Voluntary Action: Provincial Policies and Practices
- L'action bénévole: Politiques et pratiques provinciales
- Encourager la participation du public : Bref exposé et bibliographie choisie annotée
- Fostering Public Participation: A Brief Discussion and Annotated Bibliography
- Perspectives on Social Services and Social Issues

Social Indicators / Indicateurs Sociales

- Measuring Well-being: Proceedings from a Symposium on Social Indicators
- Progress of Canada's Children 1996

Still Available / Encore Disponible:

- Building Partners Within the Housing Community
- The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty -- 1989
- Données de base sur la pauvreté au Canada -- 1989
- Deinstitutionalization: Costs and Effects
- La désinstitutionalisation : coûts et incidences
- Women and Housing: Changing Needs and the Failure of Policy

- La femmes et le logement : nouveaux besoins et insuccès d'une politique
- Credit: A Mortgage for Life

Income Security- Publications:

- Women and Pensions: Fact Sheets

This series of fact sheets outlines the structure of Canada's retirement income system and its impact on women. The series, sponsored by Status of Women Canada, is designed for groups and individuals concerned about the future of Canada's pension programs and, in particular, the situation of women.

These fact sheets focus on the following areas:

- Canada's Seniors: Some Facts
- The Three-Tiered Income Security System for the Elderly in Canada
- Old Age Security
- The Guaranteed Income Supplement
- The Spouse's Allowance
- The Canada/Quebec Pension Plans
- Registered Retirement Savings Plans
- Registered Pension Plans, March, 1996.
- The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 1994. By David P. Ross, Richard Shillington and Clarence Lochhead- Highlights (1994 168 pp.).
- The Canadian Fact Book on Income Security Programs. By Melanie Hess (1992 84 pp.).
- Family Security in Insecure Times (Volume 1). By the National Forum on Family Security. Volume II, to be published in the Fall of 1995, will examine creative responses to deal with family security.

5. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

National Office:

804-251 Laurier Ave W. Ottawa, ON K1P 5J6

Tel: 613-563-1341

Fax: 613-233-1458

Contact: Ed Finn

E-Mail: ccpa@policyalternatives.ca

B.C. Office:

815-207 West Hastings St.

Vancouver, B.C. V6B 1H7

Tel: 604-801-5121

Fax: 604-801-5122

E-mail:

Web Page: <http://www.policyalternatives.ca.middle.html>

Contact: Seth Klein

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives was founded in 1980 to promote research on economic and social issues facing Canada. The Centre monitors current developments in the economy and studies important trends that affect Canadians. Membership in the CCPA is open to individuals and organizations. Through its activities the CCPA wants to demonstrate that there are thoughtful alternatives to the limited perspective of business research institutes and many government agencies.

Activities: The Centre is committed to putting forward research that reflects the concerns of women as well as men, labour as well as business, churches, cooperatives and voluntary agencies as well as governments, minorities and disadvantaged people as well as fortunate individuals.

To achieve its ends the CCPA publishes research reports, sponsors conferences, organizes briefings and provides informed comment on the issues of the day from a non-partisan perspective.

Members of the CCPA share a common perspective: social and economic issues have to do with what is right and wrong in this world; they are not something to be left to the marketplace or for the governments acting alone to decide. Among those policies supported by the Centre are full employment, defined as the right to a full-time job at a full wage for all seeking paid work, and including equal pay for work of equal value and promotion of the right to associate in order to protect and advance conditions of employment; environmental protection and renewal; and a sovereign Canada playing an independent role for common security in the world. The perspective of the CCPA leads it to call on governments to demonstrate active concern for the poor and marginalized in all their activities.

Publications:

- Debt and Deficit
- Employment and Labour
- Free Trade and Corporations
- Social Policy and Education
- Sectoral
- Economic Union
- Pensions
- Health
- Taxation
- Public Sector
- Privatization
- Others

Debt and Deficit:

- 10 Deficit Myths. Duncan Cameron and Ed Finn. "The Deficit made me do it" is still the all-purpose excuse of governments bent on underfunding, privatizing and dismantling Canada's social programs and public services. In this new booklet, the CCPA's Cameron and Finn examine and refute the ten most pervasive myths surrounding government deficits. They also suggest more humane and workable ways to solve the problem of rising public sector debt. September 1995.

- The 1997 Alternative Budget Papers. The CCPA/CHOICES Alternative Federal Budget is the culmination of six months of research and debate, consultation and consensus-building. Now, for the first time, the budget and all its supporting documents--The Framework Analysis, the background papers, the Economists' Round Table, etc.--have been compiled in book form. It's available at most major bookstores, or you can obtain a copy from the CCPA. (Also available in French: L'Alternative Budgetaire). The book is 405 pages. BLEEDING THE PATIENT The Debt/Deficit Hoax Exposed. Nine eminent political economists explain why public sector cutbacks will depress the economy and raise deficits. They then outline workable alternatives for promoting economic recovery and healthy government finances. May 1993, 19 pages.
- Against John Crow: A Critique of Current Monetary Policy and Proposals for an Alternative. Andrew Jackson. The current monetary policy of the Bank of Canada and the present federal government is analyzed and critiqued in this report. It argues that high interest rates in pursuit of a "zero inflation" target have inflicted enormous damage upon the productive economy. (Available in French: Opposition a John Crow), September 1990, 45 pages.
- Beyond the Market and the State: How Can We Do Better? Duncan Cameron. Workable alternatives to current economic practice require demystifying the financial economy. The author challenges readers to move beyond traditional designations of public and private sector economies and proposes a program of integrated elements to stimulate new economic alternatives. June 1990, 20 pages.
- The Deficit and Debt Management: An Alternative to Monetarism. Harold Chorney. The report puts the current deficit problem in historical perspective. It reviews business opposition to public sector indebtedness from 1926 to the present. It explores the role of monetarist policies in aggravating the current deficit problem and clarifies several myths about the "burden of debt". It argues for a new set of policies that clearly place the burden of indebtedness where it belongs--on policies which have led to the highest rates of unemployment and real interest since the 1930s. April 1989, 98 pages.
- Canada Under the Tory Government. The CCPA brought together 30 researchers from across Canada to evaluate the first four years of the Mulroney government. They document the changes in economic and social conditions since the government took power in 1984. The report analyzes 23 issues including the regional disparity, tax reform, government spending, poverty, the environment, technology, job quality, wages and salaries, privatization, child care and defense. The report's findings will be useful to political parties, trade unions, lobby groups and individuals interested in social and economic policies and their effect on Canadians. September 1988, 92 pages.
- Deficit, Debt and the Contradictions of Tory Economics. Andrew Jackson. In this pamphlet the author argues that the continuing deficit/debt "problem" is a consequence of monetary policy, not of excessive government spending, or of fiscal policy generally. He argues that the deficit will be reduced only through the implementation of alternative economic policies. February 1990, 8 pages.

Employment and Labour:

- The Indispensable Right to Strike. Ed Finn. The right to strike is the cornerstone of free collective bargaining and a fundamental freedom in any true democracy. This booklet examines and refutes the most common myths about the right to strike and exposes the many restrictions that have been placed on that right in Canada. (Also available in French: L'indispensable droit de grève.) May 1996, 24 pages.
- Love in a Cold World: The Voluntary Sector in an Age of Cuts. Paul Leduc Browne. In this era of government cutbacks, the prevailing neo-conservative orthodoxy is promoting the privatization and commercialization of public services. The voluntary sector in particular is being touted as a substitute for, or agent of, government. This study argues that the "contracting regime" that is arising from this undermines public servants and public services, but also threatens the identity and autonomy of the voluntary sector itself. May 1996.

- The Liberals' Labour Strategy (and its consequences for workers). Andrew Jackson. The Chrétien government has abandoned its promise to favour job creation over social program cutbacks and is slashing UI and other "payroll taxes." In this report, Andrew Jackson tells how the Liberals' approach to labour reform is threatening workers' job prospects and job security, and will have disastrous social consequences. March 1996, 18 pages.
- The Real Cost of Unemployment in Canada. Diane Bellemare and Lise Poulin-Simon. The authors argue that unemployment represents a loss to society as a whole and that its elimination should be a collective effort involving co-operation among business, labour and government and that the evidence of the last 20 years shows that it is not possible to eliminate deficits when unemployment is widespread. May 1994, 16 pages.
- From the Double Day to the Endless Day. These are the proceedings and background papers from a conference on homeworking which was held November 13-15, 1992. The conference had two aims: to educate and to organize. This handbook gathers together transcripts of the presentations, analyses of homeworking in different regions and industries, reports from workshops and information from research projects, about campaigns and strategies. April 1994, 69 pages.
- Free Trade: Destroyer of Jobs. Bruce Campbell (with Andrew Jackson). This study surveys the evidence on job loss in Canada under "free trade" and concludes that, while it is not possible to determine the precise number of job loss attributable to the FTA or anticipated with NAFTA, it is clear that they destroy far more jobs than they create. October 1993, 22 pages.
- Labour Law's Little Sister: The Employment Standards Act and the Feminization of Labour. Judy Fudge. The author addresses the challenge and opportunity now represented by economic restructuring. She argues that employment standards legislation is likely to achieve more policy prominence as a tool to protect workers from capital's search for flexible labour. July 1993, 100 pages.
- Women and Economic Structures: A Feminist Perspective on the Canadian Economy. Marjorie Griffin-Cohen. The author explains that "Canada's most serious economic problems can be categorized under four main headings: high rates of unemployment; gross inequalities between groups of people and regions; the poor provision of social services; and environmental degradation." June 1991, 15 pages (pamphlet).
- Victimizing the Unemployed: How U.I. Cuts Will Affect Poverty in Canada. Gerald Docquier, Hugh MacKenzie and Richard Shillington. Changes to unemployment insurance benefits will push an additional 50,000 Canadians a year below the poverty line, and deny benefits to 168,000 more claimants. The study, commissioned by the United Steelworkers of America, calls for the U.I. program to be improved, not cut back, since it is a cornerstone of Canada's employment adjustment system. December 1989, 20 pages.

Free Trade and Corporations:

- Turning the Tide: Confronting the Money Traders. John Dillon. In this eye-opening report on the power of the world's money traders, John Dillon not only analyses the devastating effects of this new "paper economy" on jobs, on social security, on our quality of life. He also explains how and why this huge transfer of wealth to a small financial elite was accomplished. More importantly, he describes 13 practical ways to regulate speculative capital and redirect it into useful and productive activities. January 1997, 136 pages.
- Challenging 'Free Trade' in Canada: The Real Story. John Dillon. This comprehensive, fact-filled report on the adverse effects on Canada of the FTA and NAFTA is must reading for all Canadians concerned about their country's future. Written by John Dillon of the Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice and a team of social activists, this report describes the costs to workers, to the environment, to our social programs and to our culture. It calls for a concerted effort by citizens' movements to oppose the corporate agenda and halt the "headlong race to the bottom" that the free trade deals have precipitated. August 1996.
- Under Corporate Rule: The Big Business Takeover of Canada. Ed Finn. For the past three years, Ed Finn has been arguing that most Canadian governments have become (willingly or unwillingly) the servants of the large corporations and financial institutions. He has written more than 30 columns, essays, and editorials that expose the nature and scope of the corporate agenda, and suggest ways that Canadians can

fight back. Now his writings on this subject--about 34,000 words in length--have been assembled between the covers of a single publication. May 1996, 74 pages.

- **Shifting Powers, Depressing Standards: An Analysis of the Internal Trade Agreement.** Scott Sinclair. This analysis is critical of the inter-provincial trade agreement because it is patterned on the terms of NAFTA and even goes further than NAFTA in shifting power from governments and communities to private corporations. Given the small impact of inter-provincial trade barriers, they should have been dealt with on a case-by-case basis instead of through an agreement that promotes more privatization and deregulation.
- **Social Dumping and Canadian Living Standards Under Free Trade.** Jim Stanford, Christine Elwell, and Scott Sinclair. This study examines how social dumping--the use of low or lax labour and environmental standards by corporations to gain competitive advantage over domestic producers--is, under free trade, putting downward pressure on Canadian standards; and explores options for dealing with the problem. October 1993, 66 pages.
- **North American Trade As If Democracy Mattered: What's Wrong with NAFTA and What Are the Alternatives?.** Ian Robinson. The most comprehensive analysis yet of why NAFTA will reinforce the crisis of global under consumption, worsen inequality, undercut worker rights and undermine democracy. The study also concludes that the NAFTA labour side-deal will make matters worse. The author offers a compelling social and economic development alternative to NAFTA. September 1993, 77 pages.
- **Moving in the Wrong Direction: Globalization, North American Free Trade Agreements and Sustainable Development.** Bruce Campbell. This study finds that NAFTA (and the FTA) embodies the essential features of the global economy. Both are increasingly incompatible with the basic principles of socially and environmentally sustainable development. September 1993, 43 pages.
- **Estimating the Effects of North American Free Trade: A Three-Country General Equilibrium Model with "Real-World" Assumptions.** Jim Stanford. This path breaking study rejects the unrealistic neoclassical assumptions which underlie CGE models of FTA and NAFTA impacts and substitutes assumptions which more closely reflect actual economic activity in a free trade environment. The resulting effect on Canada predicted by the author's model is clearly negative. September 1993, 49 pages.
- **The Last Thread: An Analysis of the Apparel Goods Provisions in the North American Free Trade Agreement.** Leah Vosco. As a primary industrial employer in Canada, whose economic prosperity has drastically declined since the implementation of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, the garment industry will be adversely affected by the NAFTA. Vosco reveals the consequences for the garment industry, and places the analysis in a human context. February 1993, 16 pages.

Social Policy and Education:

- **Charter Schools: Charting A Course to Social Division.** Murray Dobbin. Charter schools are the result of applying free market principles to the education system. In this study, author and researcher Murray Dobbin finds that charter schools are set up so far Canada and in other countries have failed to provide the parental "choice" they promise, and have led to a two-tier system based on social class and income. January 1997, 42 pages.

- **Canada's Education Crisis: The Underfunding of Post-Secondary Education and Research, Labour Market Training and Student Financial Assistance.** At the founding convention of the Coalition for Post-Secondary Education, three background papers were presented detailing the inadequate financing of post-secondary education, research, labour market training and student assistance. The papers paint a stark picture of an educational/training/ research system suffering from acute financial anemia. February 1993, 62 pages.

Sectoral:

- **Lessons from the Dew Line: The Experience of Canadian Garment Workers.** Armine Yalnizyan. The Canadian garment industry can be seen as the DEW-line for labour-intensive sectors of the economy. The story of how this sector has been transformed, and how the women working in it are responding to what is happening to them may be the shape of changes to come for a growing number of workers in the global economy. March 1993, 19 pages.
- **Transforming Telecommunications in Canada.** Vincent Mosco. This report examines the state of the Canadian telecommunications system and the likelihood of its transformation. (Also available in French: *Vers une transformation des télécommunications au Canada*) December 1990, 61 pages.

Economic Union:

- **Briefing Notes on the Tory Constitutional Proposals.** A small group of researchers prepared these briefing notes. The group included: Duncan Cameron, Bruce Campbell, Andrew Jackson, Jane Jensen, C. Radha Jhappan, George Ross, Miriam Smith, Caroline Andrew, Francois Houle and Joel C. Bakan. The notes may be used in any way people see fit. Reproduction and circulation are encouraged. September 1991, 28 pages.
- **Maritime Economic Union: Sounding Brass and Tinkling Symbolism.** Michael Bradfield. Maritime economic integration is once again high on the political agenda of the region, with promises of major improvements in efficiency, output and economic welfare. This report shows that, despite the sweeping political statements, there is little of substance to back up the claims. It states that those supporters of integration who have attempted to quantify the benefits admit that extensive economic co-operation would add less than 1% to the region's output. October 1991, 27 pages.
- **Atlantic Economic Cooperation: An Alternative Model.** Scott Sinclair. This study looks at government plans to integrate the economies of the four Atlantic provinces, and concludes that they'll do more harm than good because they're based on the neoconservative model of privatization, deregulation and cutbacks in public services and social programs. The proposed alternative would be based on true economic cooperation built on democratic participation and local control of decision-making. November 1994, 60 pages.

Pensions:

- **Our Aging Society: Preserving Retirement Incomes into the 21st century.** Monica Townson. This insightful study of Canada's retirement income system, pension expert Monica Townson charges that current reform proposals are being driven by Ottawa's cost-cutting agenda, not a desire to improve and strengthen existing programs. She warns that all the progress made so far in reducing poverty among the elderly is in danger of being reversed. She produces facts, figures and arguments to support her view that

Canada can indeed afford its aging society and provide decent retirement incomes for all present and future retirees. January 1996.

- **The Pension Gap.** Louis Asach. Professor Asach, an expert on pensions, criticizes the federal government for doing nothing to improve public pensions--in fact, they're doing quite the opposite by continuing the Old Age Security clawback--while lavishing more tax assistance on RRSP contributions that overwhelmingly benefit those in the highest income brackets. December 1994, 25 pages.
- **Partnerships in Pensions: Who's Responsible Anyway.** Monica Townson. Canada's pension system involves at least four partners: government, business, labour and individuals. But the balance between the players in the retirement income system is changing as the government alters its commitment to income security for seniors. Seniors now account for only 11% of the population. By 2031 almost one-quarter of all Canadians will be 65 or older. This report examines the issues and implications of the changing partnerships in light of the changing reality in Canada. March 1990, 19 pages.
- **Pension Fund Surpluses: An Economic Perspective.** Louis Asach. This report examines the origins of pension fund surpluses and provides the criteria which can serve to determine their fair distribution. Louis Asach is chairperson of the Department of Economics at the Université de Sherbrooke in Quebec. (Also available in French: Attribution du surplus d'un régime de retraite--un regard économique) January 1991, 25 pages.

Health:

The Road Less Travelled. Edited by Ed Finn. With the survival of Canada's national public health care system--Medicare--now endangered, the Canadian Health Coalition convened a forum of fourteen distinguished health thinkers. They explored policy options for preserving and enhancing Medicare, while also allowing scope for needed reforms. (Also available in French: Hors des sentiers battus) February 1993, 21 pages.

Taxation:

- **The Tobin Tax.** Nobel prize-winning economist James Tobin proposes that a 0.5% tax be imposed on all speculative currency transactions. "The Tobin Tax" would deter the money traders from manipulating and betting against nations' currencies and thus destabilizing their economies. In this report, prepared for the CCPA, Prof. Tobin explains how his tax would work and answers the criticism that have been levelled against it. September 1995.
- **Paying for Civilized Society: The Need for Fair and Responsible Tax Reform.** Neil Brooks. The author argues that the case for and states the principles of a tax system designed to redistribute income in Canada. (Also available in French: Le prix d'une société civilisée) November 1990, 24 pages.
- **An Outrage and a Scandal: Mel Hurtig on Corporate Taxes.** Mel Hurtig. The study reveals, through text and charts, the shocking concentration of wealth and power in Canada and the excessive and unfair tax burden that has resulted for the majority of Canadians. November 1990, 47 pages.
- **Is it Fair? What Tax Reform Will do to You.** Leon Muszynski. Written for the layperson, the book reflects the CCPA's belief that tax reforms are moving our tax system the wrong way--towards regressivity and away from fairness. It outlines a program for progressive tax reform. The publication also includes a discussion of personal income taxes, corporate taxes, federal sales taxes and the tax system's influence on social policy. It argues that fairness and progressivity should be put back into the tax system. 1988, 102 pages.
- **Talking Fair Taxes.** Edited by Michael Cassidy, Leon Muszynski and Leslie Silver. A series of fact sheets designed to assist working group members of the Fair Tax Commission, representing community, church, labour, anti-poverty and women's groups, to consult with their constituents on fair tax reform issues. March 1993, 131 pages.

Public Sector:

- **Canada After the Cuts: The Fragmenting Federation.** Larry Brown. This is a transcript of a speech by Larry Brown in the CCPA's public lecture series at the Ottawa Public Library, October 15, 1996. 10 pages.
- **Left vs. Right: Why the Left is Right and the Right is Wrong.** Neil Brooks. In this new booklet, Dr. Neil Brooks of Osgoode Hall Law School explains how the Right and the Left look differently at government, public services, the deficit and the tax system--and argues that the Right is wrong and the Left is right. His powerful arguments shatter the prevailing right-wing myths. He provides valuable ammunition for progressive Canadians in their fight to preserve our social programs and a caring and sharing society. September 1995, 27 pages.
- **In Defence of Public Services.** Murray Dobbin. The author of best-selling books on Preston Manning and Kim Campbell vigorously defends public services from attacks by politicians and business groups, refutes the claim that our social programs are too costly, exposes the "debt terrorism" used to justify cutbacks, and cites New Zealand and Alberta as disastrous examples of where the assault on the public sector is taking Canada.

Privatization:

- **Out of Control: Paying the Price for Privatizing Alberta's Liquor Control Board.** Gordon Laxer, Duncan Green, Trevor Harrison and Dean Neu. In a probing study of the effects of privatizing the distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages in Alberta, four researchers find that in the first year following privatization prices and liquor-related crimes went up, while selection and government revenue went down. September 1994, 54 pages.
- **Privatizing Postal Services: The Implications for Women.** Joan Hannant. The report discusses declining service levels and the problems that privatization will bring to postal workers and the public. Areas affected by privatization include survival of rural communities and wages and benefits for postal workers. Job security and working conditions are also discussed. January 1989, 22 pages.
- **Stopping the Privatization of Petro-Canada: Redefining Public Ownership.** J.O. Stanford. This study reviews the history of an important and controversial Crown corporation--Petro-Canada. The privatization is examined in the context of the overall deregulation of energy markets that have been initiated by the federal government, including the energy sections of the Free Trade Agreement. The case is made for public ownership of the key energy sector of the economy. May 1990, 32 pages.

Others:

- **The Tory Wreckord.** Edited by Ed Finn. This booklet cites key facts and figures to show the damage the Tories have done since 1984 in more than 30 areas, from free trade to health care, from poverty to the environment. September 1993, 86 pages.
- **Taking a Stand: Strategy and Tactics of Organizing the Popular Movement in Canada.** Ronnie Leah. The report brings together the reflections and analyses of activists in provincial coalitions and the Pro-Canada Network (now called the Action Canada Network). It developed out of a session on "Coalition Building: Organizing the Popular Sectors," at the Society for Socialist Studies, 1989 Learned Societies Meeting. June 1992, 62 pages.
- **Democracy and Productive Capacity: Notes Towards an Alternative to Competitiveness.** Sam Gindin and David Robertson. This analysis outlines an alternative framework for creating a productive economy. September 1991, 12 pages. November 1996
- The CCPA Monitor is published monthly by the CCPA.

6. Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN)

Suite 600, 250 Albert Street

Ottawa, Ontario

K1P 6M1

Tel: 613-567-7500

Fax 613-567-7640.

E-mail: jmaxwell.cprn@idrc.ca(or) glacelle.cprn@idrc.ca

Web Page: http://www.cprn.com/f_about/discussn.htm (Discussion group web page address)

<http://www.cprn.com>

Contact:

Judith Maxwell, President, jmaxwell.cprn@idrc.ca

Louise Séguin-Guénette, Secretary Treasurer, lseguin-guenette.cprn@idrc.ca

Ron Hirshhorn, Director, Ottawa, jrhirsch@magi.com

Mission: The mission of the CPRN is to create knowledge and lead public debate on social and economic issues important to Canadians in order to help build a more just, prosperous and caring society.

Activities: CPRN has organized three networks of researchers (across the country) and policy makers focused on work, family and health. There are about a dozen projects underway across the three networks.

CPRN Publications:

Newsletters:

- Family Network Newsletters. Suzanne Peters. •1997 •1996 • 1995 •1994 •1993 •
- Health Network Newsletter. December 1996
- Work Newsletter, coming October, 1997
- CPRN Newsletter. May 1996
- The Society We Want Newsletter. Marit Stiles. June 1996, 1997
- The Society We Want: A Public Dialogue
- Annual Reports
- Annual Report 1994-95
- Annual Report 1995-96
- Annual Report 1996-97 (to be released November, 1997)

Family Network Publications:

- Exploring Canadian Values. A Synthesis report. Suzanne Peters. 1995. Available from: Renouf

- Exploring Canadian Values - Foundations for Well-Being. Suzanne Peters. CPRN Study No. F01 Revised Version. 1995. Available from: Renouf. An in-depth report on the 1995 discussion groups in public dialogue and on the survey results over 15 years, which sets out Canadians' vision for Canada on social policy, democracy, and the role of government.
- Examining the Concepts of Transactions as the Basis for Studying the Social and Economic Dynamics of Families. Suzanne Peters. Working Paper FO1. 1996. Available from: Renouf.
- The Society We Want: A Public Dialogue, Tool Kit, revised April 1997. 63 pages. Available from CPRN at no cost.

Work Network Publications:

- The Future of Work in Canada-- A Synthesis Report are available in English and in French from: Renouf.
- Backgrounder on The Future of Work in Canada-- A Synthesis Report.
- Youth and Work in Troubled Times: A Report on Canada in the 1990s.
- Backgrounder on Youth and Work in Troubled Times: A Report on Canada in the 1990s.
- Employment Growth and Change in the Canadian Urban System, 1971-94 (Working Paper No. W02).
- Backgrounder, Want a Good Job?
- Youth Employment and Education Trends in the 1980s and 1990s (Working Paper No. W03).
- Backgrounder, Youth Employment and Education Trends in the 1980s and 1990s.
- On Skill Requirements Trends in Canada, 1971-1991. Norm Leckie, 1996, available on request.

Health Network Publications:

CPRN Population Health Research Feasibility Study, Background Paper, Diane McAmmond and Associates, available upon request.

Nonprofit Sector Publications:

- The Emerging Sector: In Search of a Framework. Available in English only from Renouf.
- Backgrounder on The Emerging Sector.
- The Social Union Publications. Building Blocks For Canada's New Social Union. Margaret Biggs. CPRN Working Paper F02, June 1996. Available from: Renouf.

Forthcoming Publications:

CPRN Newsletter, Peter Calamai, available late, 1997.

Family Network

- Families and their Well-Being. 3 papers by David Cheal, Frances Woolley, and Meg Luxton. Conceptual thinking on incomes and labour markets in view of the social and economic dynamics of families. Available Fall, 1997.

- **Making Sense of the Murmurings: The Societal Implications of Charities Doing Commercial Ventures.** Brenda Zimmerman and Ray Dart. A joint study of CPRN and the Trillium Foundation. Available Fall, 1997.
- **Families and Resilience in A Changing Economy.** M-J Wason. Report of an in-depth study of family coping strategies and strengths, including those with and without stable employment. Available Winter, 1997.
- **Achieving Better Outcomes: Creating a Societal Strategy for Canadian Children.** Suzanne Peters and Pauline O'Connor. First working paper on the Best Policy Mix for Children presents a framework for analysis and action. Available Fall, 1997.
- **Canadians Cope with Change: Public Dialogue as a Tool for Social Cohesion.** Marit Stiles. A comparative case study locating the TSWW within other public participation initiatives in Canada. Available Winter, 1997.

Health Network

- **Health Network Newsletter,** Anne Mullens, available in Fall, 1997.
- **The Economic Burden of HIV/AIDS in Canada.** Terry Albert and Greg Williams, Working Paper. Available in November, 1997.
- **Population Health in Canada: A Systematic Overview.** Michael Hayes. CPRN Working Paper, late 1997.

Work Network

- **Work Network Newsletter,** Joanne Godin, available October, 1997.
- **Training for the New Economy: A Synthesis Report.** Gordon Betcherman and Kathryn McMullen. Available late 1997.

Corporate Projects

- **Organization and Supervisory Law in the Nonprofit Sector.** Ron Hirshhorn and David Stevens. Available September, 1997.
- **The Canadian Nonprofit Sector.** Kathleen Day and Rose Anne Devlin. Available September, 1997.
- **Tax Incentives for Charitable Giving in Canada.** Kimberly Scharf, Ben Cherniavsky and Roy Hogg. Available September, 1997.
- **Roundtable Series on Securing the Social Union.** Kathy O'Hara. CPRN Study. Available Spring, 1998.

Canadian Policy Research Network- Publications:

Some publications of CPRN are distributed via Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd., located in Ottawa, Ontario.

By clicking their link, you can order directly from them. Other materials and newsletters can be secured by contacting CPRN directly. Current newsletters of the Family Network and Health Network can be accessed from the respective home pages.

Subscriptions to the CPRN Newsletter are available.

- Newsletters Family Network Newsletters. Suzanne Peters. 1993-1997
- Health Network Newsletter. December 1996
- CPRN Newsletter. May 1996
- The Society We Want Newsletter. Marit Stiles. June 1996, 1997
- The Society We Want: A Public Dialogue Annual Reports , 1994-95, 1995-96

CPRN's Family Network has launched a public dialogue entitled The Society We Want. The dialogue offers citizens a neutral, independent forum to engage with one another, struggling with some of the crucial issues and choices facing Canadians in the process of social policy reform and working towards resolution and public judgment.

Five issues are currently included in a discussion leaders' guide created by CPRN. These are: Our Children, Health, Work, The Social Safety Net, and the Role of Government. The choices and fact sheets presented for each issue offer a springboard for informed discussion and the opportunity to clarify values and develop new options. Feedback from each discussion will be sent to a data bank and made publicly available to all researchers.

7. Canadian Research Institute on the Advancement of Women(CRIAW)

Suite 408- 151 Slater St

Fax:613-563-0682

Email:criaw@worldlink.ca

Web page: www3.sympatico.ca/criaw/

Contact: Lise Martin (research officer)

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women is a national non-governmental organization founded in 1976 as a response to International Women's Year. CRIAW is committed to advancing the position of women in society, to encouraging research about the reality of women's lives and to affirming the diversity of women's experience.

Activities: We conduct our own research projects and publish woman-centered research. We sponsor research through a modest grant-in-aid program and an annual scholarship in women's history. We maintain two databases: one profiles feminist researchers and their work; the other focuses on women and global issues. We sponsor a national theme conference every two years in a different part of the country.

We recognize feminist scholars and writers through a program of prizes and awards. We operate a resource centre. We manage a post-Beijing Clearing House. We link with women's groups both in Canada and abroad. We provide a triannual Newsletter to all our members. We offer Research Associate Status to assist unaffiliated researchers applying to funding agencies.

CRIAW is a bilingual membership-based organization run by a volunteer Board of Directors elected from each province and territory. Our members include independent researchers, students, academics, policy-makers, journalists, community activists and women's centres. By joining CRIAW you will become a part of this exciting network working to advance the status of women.

CRIAW Publications:

- **New Releases**
- **Newsletter :** The Newsletter is available to CRIAW members free of charge (see membership form). It contains articles on current research grants; information on upcoming conferences and workshops; opportunities for training, employment, bursaries and scholarships; news on UN conferences and follow-up; the latest in learning tools including new publications, books, videos and films; and special feature articles. It is published three times a year.
- **Papers Series:** The two original paper series, the CRIAW Papers and Feminist Perspectives, have been merged into one new series called Voix féministes/ Feminist Voices. Both the original paper series will continue to made available.
- **Resources for Research and Action:** As the title implies these resources provide information for groups or individuals interested in pursuing action on a particular issue. The aim is to make research as widely accessible as possible. Research Reports and Briefs Reports on CRIAW research projects are available at cost from the CRIAW office. Briefs are generally written in response to a specific need or request; most are free upon request.
- **Conference Proceedings/ Actes des colloques:** Published since 1982, selected papers which reflect the theme of the CRIAW annual conference are normally available only through the appropriate publishing house. Videos from Yellowknife, Toronto and St. John's Conferences are available from the CRIAW office. (for sale or rent)

8. The Council of Canadians

#904-251 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, ON K1P 5J6
Tel: (613) 233-2773 or 1-800-387-7177
Fax: (613) 233-6776
E-mail: coc@web.net
Web Page: www.web.apc.org/~coc/
Contact: Maude Barlow

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Council of Canadians is an independent non-partisan citizens' interest group providing a critical and progressive voice on key national issues. The Council of Canadians is on the front lines challenging government policy and corporate power. We work in alliance with organizations throughout the country, across the hemisphere and around the globe.

Activities: The organization "take on creative campaigns, putting some of the country's most important issues into the spotlight: safeguarding our social programs, promoting economic justice, renewing our democracy, asserting Canadian sovereignty, advancing alternatives to corporate-style free trade, and preserving our environment. It's Grassroots Action Network, ActionLink, challenges the corporate agenda and promotes development that addresses social as well as economic and environmental goals.

Council of Canadians Publications:

- Maude Barlow, volunteer national Chairperson of the Council and best-selling author with Bruce Campbell of Straight Through the Heart, offers up her critical insights into the latest political developments in Canada.

- Members who contribute \$35 or more receive a free subscription to Canadian Perspectives, the Council's informative news magazine published four times a year.
- The Council of Canadians, Canadian Perspectives reports on the work of the Council of Canadians and explores important political developments affecting Canadians.

9. **The Fraser Institute**

2nd Floor - 626 Bute Street
 Vancouver, British Columbia V6E 3M1
 Tel: (604) 688-0221
 Fax: (604) 688-8539
 E-mail: info@fraserinstitute.ca
 Web Page: <http://www.fraserinstitute.ca/>
 Contact Person:

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Fraser Institute was founded in 1974 to redirect public attention to the role markets can play in providing for the economic and social well-being of Canadians.

The Fraser Institute is an independent, non-partisan organization dedicated to research and education. A registered non-profit organization, its primary focus is on Canadian public-policy issues. The goal of the Institute is to achieve a society of economic and social well-being, based upon free markets, private property rights, individual responsibility and limited government.

Activities: This goal is pursued through an extensive program of rigorous research and through the publication and promotion of research results and public-policy recommendations.

The Fraser Institute-Publications:

The Fraser institute on-line publications: <http://192.197.214.46/cgi-bin/fofiocgi.exe/fraser.nfo?>

The Fraser Institute has published over 120 books since its inception in 1974 as well as countless other articles, journals and reports Book Orders: 1-800-665-3558 or (604) 688-0221 ext. 325 toll free number 1-800-665-3558 or fax your order to (604) 688-8539.

10. **Donner Canadian Foundation**

8 Prince Arthur Av., Third Floor,
 Toronto, Ontario, M5R 1A9, CANADA.
 Tel: 416-920-6400.
 Contact: Patrick Luciano, Acting Executive Director
 Web Page: <http://www.hsd.uvic.ca:8080/PADM/research/lgi/whatis/donner.htm>

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Donner Foundation is one of Canada's oldest and largest private charitable foundation, focusing on public policy research. It is devoted to supporting work that stimulates wide public debate on practical public policy issues. The role of markets in the economy and the responsibilities of citizenship are central to their interests.

Activities: The foundation is engaged in a number of areas: public finance, regulatory and legal reform, trade, municipal affairs, health care, education, housing, environmental and labour issues, privatization, and social policy to name a few. The foundation also supports a limited number of projects on Canada's role in international affairs.

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)

1. Campaign 2000

c/o Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto
355 Church Street
Toronto, Ont. M5B 1Z8
Tel: (416) 595-9230, Ext. 241
Fax: (416) 595-0242
E-mail: rpopham@web.net
Web Page: www.web.net/~rpopham/campaign2000/
Contact: Rosemarie Popham

Mandate/Activities: Campaign 2000 is a non-partisan coalition of 24 national partners and a Canada wide network of 33 community partners committed to building Canadian awareness and support for the 1989 all-party House of Commons resolution to end child poverty in Canada by the year 2000. The national partners are: Canadian Academy of Child Psychiatry, Canadian Association of Social Workers, Canadian Association of Family Resource Programs, Canadian Association of Food Banks, Canadian Council of Reform Judaism, Canadian Council on Social Development, Canadian Housing and Renewal Association, Canadian Institute of Child Health, Canadian Mental Health Association, Canadian Teachers' Federation, Catholic Health Association of Canada, Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada, Child Poverty Action Group, Child Welfare League of Canada, Family Service Canada, National Anti-Poverty Organization, National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women of Canada, and Save the Children Canada.

Report card 1996 was prepared by Campaign 2000 with research provided by the Centre for International Statistics at the CCSD.

Campaign 2000 Publications

- Report Card 1996-Child Poverty in Canada
for copies of the Discussion paper contact:
Rosemarie Popham, National Coordinator Campaign 2000

2. Child Poverty Action Group

*** information was not received for this organization prior to publication**

3. Community Action on Poverty Coalition

503 - 275 Broadway
Winnipeg, MB
Tel: (204) 942 6829
E-mail: CAP - c/o adshead@freenet.mb.ca
Web Page: www.winnipeg.freenet.mb.ca/capov/
Contact: Karen Adshead and Harold Shuster (CAP members)

Mandate/Mission Statement: CAP is a pro-active anti-poverty coalition based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Frustrated over the increase in social injustice in our city, province and country, CAP is attempting to find ways to collectively speak out and address concerns with poverty and economic injustice. CAP is working to lessen the gap between the richest and poorest members of our society and to ensure adequate standards of living for all citizens through the building of a coalition of individuals and organizations.

Activities/Goals:

- To raise public awareness about the nature and extent of poverty;
- To build a network of individuals and groups who are concerned about issues of poverty;
- To monitor public policy developments which affect poverty and undertake advocacy action as appropriate;
- To take action on poverty in order to lower the incidence and impact of poverty on individuals, families, and communities.

(No list of publications on this web site)

4. Edmonton Social Planning Council (ESPC)

#41, 9912-106 Street

Edmonton, AB T5K 1C5

Tel: 403-423-2031

Fax: 403-425-6244

Web Page: <http://www.compusmart.ab.ca/>

Contact Person: Brian Bechtal

History: The Edmonton Social Planning Council was formed in 1940 and was called the Council of Social Agencies. In its 55 year history it has advocated for people who are disadvantaged; it has produced research and publications on various social issues; it has organized programs to meet various needs and has even helped to set up agencies which fill gaps in services. Our vision is for 'a community where all people have a commitment to social justice and shared responsibility as the foundation for community well being.'

Mission Statement/ Activities: "The Edmonton Social Planning Council's mission is to:

- identify trends and emerging social issues;
- create opportunities to debate and address social issues; and
- to initiate and support community action through research, coordination and advocacy."

Publications - Edmonton Social Planning Council:

- **First Reading:** First Reading-Alberta's Social Issues Magazine. Each quarterly issue takes a specific topic such as sexuality or fundamentalism and invites experts and people with direct experience to write thoughtful articles which will educate and stimulate. To subscribe to First Reading you can buy a yearly membership to the Edmonton Social Planning Council for a sale price of \$15.
- **Alberta Facts:** Alberta Facts is distributed to all members periodically through the First Reading magazine. This is an eight-page fact sheet which takes a topic such as hunger in Edmonton and breaks it down into facts and figures.

- Two Paycheques Away: Social Policy and Hunger in Edmonton. This 86-page study reports the findings of a face-to-face survey of 816 food bank users which was conducted in the summer months of 1996.
- Voices In Action: Work has begun on the 1998 community calendar Voices In Action. This calendar will feature the stories and portraits of families and organizations that are working to overcome poverty.
- 1995 Tracking The Trends . Free of charge. This is the final edition of Tracking the Trends and it is full of timely information on major social and economic trends in Edmonton and surrounding communities. It includes a special feature on mental health and documents trends which will most likely influence human services now and in the future. Order a box and distribute them to colleagues and friends!
- Doing It Right! An easy-to-read publication that will provide you with a clear understanding of what a needs assessment is, why one should be done and how to get started. It includes five worksheets and additional references to assist you.
- Listen To Me-Final Report of the Quality of Life Commission. This report highlights the results of a series of community hearings conducted by the Quality of Life Commissioners from October to December of 1995. You can also view this report by through this page. Quality Rep

5. **Family Services Canada/ Services à la famille-Canada**

383 Parkdale Ave

Suite 404

Ottawa, ON K1Y 4R4

Tel: 613-772-9006

Fax: 613-960-5802

E-mail: : fsc@igs.net

Web Page: www.cfc-efc.ca/fsc/

Contact: Maggie Fietz

Mission Statement/ Mandate: Founded in 1982, Family Service Canada is a not-for-profit, national, voluntary organization representing the concerns of families and family-serving agencies across Canada. Membership includes family service agencies, corporations, government agencies at all three levels, and interested individuals.

"Building Strong Families in a Caring Society"

The mission of Family Service Canada is to promote families as the primary source of nurturing and development of individuals, their relationship in families and communities, through promoting and ensuring the best policies and services for families in Canada. Partnership in Family Service Canada is a multiple investment in families: increasing public awareness of the issues involved, through information distribution and public events; and raising the standards of services, through professional and organization development. Family Services Canada represents families and family-serving agencies across the country. Whether working with family service agencies, corporations, unions, governments, or interested individuals from coast-to-coast, everything we do as a national organization focuses around one central theme: a strong and lasting commitment to the well-being of families.

Activities:

- National Family Week© - October 6 to 12, 1997.
Each year since 1983, National Family Week© has given family members, organizations and agencies from coast to coast an opportunity to celebrate the important role families play in our society.
- Annual Conference - November 6 to 8 1997. SkyDome Hotel, Toronto, Ontario.
This year's theme is "Rise to the Future". The workshops focus on building strong families and healthy communities: finding hope, meaning and direction in times of change.
- National Executive Directors' Training Workshop
- Information and referral to local family services through a toll-free phone number
- Canadian Family Services Accreditation Program
- Canadian Certified Family Educators Program
- Consultation services
- Public Service announcements on family issues
- Family Service Canada documents prepared for the Internet by Child and Family Canada: Introducing a New Baby into the Family Label Jars, Not People! Coping with Tricky Times (Coming Soon) Parenting Teens: Are We Having Fun Yet?
- Positive Peer Pressure: A Transition Perspective Promoting Your Child's Self-Esteem Supportive Ideas for Raising your Child in Separate Homes When Parents Separate or Divorce: Helping your Child Cope Healthy Relationships with Older Family Members (Coming Soon) Building My Family
- History (for kids) (Coming Soon)
- Promoting the Well-Being of Families National Family Week © Activities Helpful Hints for Healthy Parenting Family Conference Time

6. First Call

4480 Oak Street

Vancouver, BC V6H 3V4

Tel: 604-875-3629 or Toll-free: 1-800-307-1212

Fax: 604-875-3569

E-Mail: firstcall@sunnyhill.bc.ca

Web Page: http://www.sunnyhill.bc.ca/first_call/inventory.html

Contact: Cindy Carson, Provincial Coordinator

BC First Call Coalition Steering Committee

Mission Statement: Children and youth must receive a first call on society's resources because we value them as children and youth and because they are our future. First Call is a coalition of individuals and organizations whose purpose is to create greater understanding of and advocacy for legislation, policy, and practice.

Activities: The coalition promotes a broad based movement for children and youth. We encourage all people in BC to help ensure that all children and youth have the opportunities and resources required to achieve their full potential and to participate in the challenges of creating a better society.

Goals: To raise the public profile of child and youth issues through public education and the dissemination of research. To advocate on public policy issues in order to reallocate resources for the benefit of Children and Youth. To recognize the value of, and to involve children and youth in decision-making. To build and promote local and provincial First Call coalitions. First Call is committed to the implementation of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. We believe the following values flow from the convention:

Advocacy:

- Advocacy means that children and youth must be treated with respect and dignity.
- Advocacy means that children and youth have the right to speak and be heard.
- Advocates create opportunities for children and youth to speak on their own behalf and to ensure that people who can effect change listen.
- Advocacy means speaking out on issues of children, youth and families.

Economic Justice:

- Economic justice is based upon ensuring that all families have a standard of living that provides for adequate nutrition, housing and child care.
- Economic justice supports healthy physical, emotional, social and intellectual development, and assures access to health, educational, cultural, leisure and recreational opportunities.
- Economic justice rests on the creation of an equitable base.

Quality Services:

- The needs of children and youth require a commitment to a range of quality services, sufficient resources and public accountability.
- Quality services are culturally appropriate, accessible, child-centered, affordable and non-stigmatizing.
- An integrated and holistic framework of supports and services is required to ensure that the needs of the "whole child" are met.
- Policies and programs support and enhance the ability of families to care for their children and are directed at preventing problems.
- Policies and programs are directed at reducing the factors which put children and youth at risk.

Community Based/Community Developed:

Natural supportive environments are best developed by and based in local communities.

Freedom from Violence:

Children and youth are to be free from family and social violence, physical and sexual abuse or exploitation, neglect, emotional harm and abandonment, and protection from these is provided as needed.

Cultural Integrity:

The cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage of children and youth are respected within communities that value diversity, promote inclusion and recognize aboriginal self-determination.

Child-Friendly Communities:

All children and youth have a right to live, learn and play in communities that are planned with their developmental needs, interests and abilities in mind.

First Call Publications:

BC Child & Youth Advocacy Coalition Published August 1997 by First Call. Hard copies can be ordered from:
First Call: BC Child & Youth Advocacy Coalition
L408-4480 Oak Street
Vancouver, BC V6H 3V4
Tel: 604-875-3629
Fax: 604-875-3569

7. Mennonite Central Committee

21 South 12th St., P. O. Box 500
Akron, PA 17501-0500
Tel: (717) 859-1151
Contact: Ed Barkman -- ejb@mennonitecc.ca -- Executive
Web Page address for contact names: <http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/mcc/regions/canada/staff.html>
Web Page: <http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/mcc/index.html>
(or) www.mennonitecc.ca/mcc/programs/index.html
MCC Canada
134 Plaza Drive
Winnipeg, MB R3T 5K9
Tel: (204) 261-6381

Mission Statement/Activities: Mennonite Central Committee is the relief and development arm of the North American Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches. Founded in 1920, MCC has over 70 volunteers in around 50 developing countries around the world involved in food relief, agriculture, health and education and social services, among other things. Volunteers also serve in Canada and the U.S. with aboriginal people, in programs which assist people with mental illness and disabilities, in job creation, with refugees, in peace-related activities and in the area of crime, including services to offenders and in the area of mediation offenses.

8. National Action Committee on the Status of Women

Suite 203- 234 Eglinton East
Ottawa, ON M4P 1K5
Tel: 416-932-1718
Fax: 416-932-0646
Email: nac@web.apc.org

*** information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

9. **National Anti-Poverty Organization**

316-256 King Edward Ave

Ottawa, ON K1N 7M1

Tel: 613-789-0096

Fax: 613-798-0141

e-mail: napo@web.apc.org

web page: www.napo-onap.ca/

Contact: Lynn Toupin

Publications: <http://www.napo-onap.ca/napo-pub.htm>

Mandate/Mission Statement: The National Anti-Poverty Organization is a non-governmental, non-partisan advocacy organization of low income Canadians and others concerned about issues affecting poor people. It is the particular role of the organization to build on its unique membership and its direction by low-income Canadians to carry out two particular mandates: to provide a voice for low-income Canadians on national issues; and, to assist local and regional organizations to bring the voices of low-income Canadians to decision-making and policy-making processes in their communities.

History: The National Anti-Poverty Organization was founded in 1971 at Canada's first nation-wide poor people's conference. While it has had a variety of specific priorities and structures since that time, it has continuously been directed by activists working within low-income communities, all of whom have personal experience with poverty. Some issues have consistently been priorities for the organization, including social assistance and other income assistance programs, health, housing, education and training, and opportunities for participation by poor people in decision making processes and policy making.

Goal /Activities: The goal of the National Anti-Poverty Organization is the elimination of poverty in Canada. While NAPO has adopted the Statistics Canada Low-Income Cut-off Lines as a dollar-figure approximation of poverty in Canada, the complete elimination of poverty will have occurred when all Canadians share the following characteristics: adequate income, access to high-quality human services, autonomy and choice within their own households and lives, recognition of the contribution -- paid or unpaid -- made to the community, and freedom from all forms of discrimination and complete social and economic equality.

To carry out its mandate, NAPO undertakes the following broad activities:

- raises public awareness about poverty and issues of concern to low-income Canadians; advocates the concerns, values and wishes of low-income Canadians so that they are reflected in public policy;
- identifies and prioritizes issues of concern to low-income Canadians; gathers and carries out research on issues of concern to low-income Canadians; and, works with local activists and organizations to strengthen national and local efforts to eliminate poverty.

NAPO Publications List topics:

Income Security:

- NAPO's Analysis of the New Employment Insurance Program (April 1996).
- Analysis of Government Options for Consultations on the Canada Pension Plan (April 1996).

- Notes for a Presentation before the Standing Committee on Finance from NAPO on Bill C-76 and the Canadian Social Safety Net (May 1995).
- Brief Regarding Certain Aspects of Bill C-113, An Act to Provide for Government Expenditure Restraint (Unemployment Insurance Benefits) (March 11, 1993).
- Written Submission by NAPO to the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology on the Subject Matter of Bill C-80 (Child Benefit) (October 8, 1992).
- Written Submission by NAPO to the Legislative Committee on Bill C-80 (Child Benefit) (July 16, 1992).
- Submission to Senate Standing Committee on National Finance on Bill C-69, An Act to Permit Restraint of Government Expenditures (October 1990).

Poverty Education:

Think Again: Challenging Attitudes on Poverty. Training package for providers of education, social, health, community and police services and for others (including video) (1994).

Housing:

- Habitat II Consultation: Comments from the National Anti-Poverty Organization (April 1996).
- Employment / Job Training. You Call It a Molehill, I'll Call It a Mountain: Job Training for People on Social Assistance (Sept 1989).
- Employment Barriers, Employability and Employment Training. Submitted by the Executive Committee of NAPO to the Minister for Employment and Immigration (March 2, 1989).

Health Care:

- Written Submission to the Senate Standing Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce on Bill C-91 (Drug Patent Protection) (January 20th, 1993).
- Review of Community-Based Literature on Health Inequities (November 1987).
- Basic Telecommunications Service.
- Local Service Pricing Options, Final Argument of NAPO and Others before the CRTC (June 13, 1996).

Literacy:

- Literacy and Poverty: A View from the Inside: A Research Report (1992).
- Poverty and Illiteracy, factsheet.

Constitution:

How the Constitutional Reform Proposals Will Affect Poor Canadians: NAPO's Position on the Federal Constitutional Reform Proposals Contained in the Document "Shaping Canada's Future Together" (November 1991).

Free Trade:

Written Submission to the Sub-Committee on International Trade of the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (November 25, 1992).

Tax Reform:

The Replacement of the GST, brief presented to the Standing Committee on Finance (March 1994).

10. Canadian Association of Food Banks (CAFB)

530 Lakeshore Blvd West

Toronto, ON M5V 1A5

Tel: (416) 203-9241

Fax: (416)203-9244

Contact: Julia Bass, Executive Director

Web Page: None available

Publications: The CAFB conducted a "Hunger Count" to identify the extent to which people in need have to seek charitable assistance as a result of higher unemployment levels and cutbacks in the social safety net. The Hunger Count Report is available from the CAFB.

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

11. Ontario Social Development Council

130 Spadina Ave. Suite 402

Toronto, ON M5V 2L4

Tel 416 703 5351

Fax 416 703 0552

E-mail: shookner@web.net

Web Page: netserver.web.net/~osdcff/main.htm

Contact Person: Malcolm Shookner

Mission Statement/ Activities: Founded in 1908, the Ontario Social Development Council is a province wide, charitable organization. For more than 85 years we have been promoting policies and programs that alleviate poverty, support community development, contribute to individual empowerment, and enhance fundamental human rights, dignity and well being. In our view, social justice and equity must be the foundation of public policies.

12. Ontario Social Service Workers Committee

Information on workfare can be obtained at

Web Page: <http://worldchat.com/public/tab/ossbcc/1cupe.htm#what>

Activities: This organization supports community allies in the anti-poverty movement like the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) and promote alternatives to the Harris government workfare agenda with radio ads and community action. Action at the United Way table has already won concessions from government on the workfare question, including employment standards and more flexibility in work assignments. No

wonder. Labour movement members raise 60% of provincial United Way funds. Ontario CUPE members contributed \$20 million in 1995.

*** additional information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

13. Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia (SPARC)

#106- 2182 West 12th Ave
Vancouver, BC
V2K 2N4
Tel: 604-736-8118
Fax: 604-736-8697
Contact Person: Michael Goldberg

Mission Statement/ Mandate: SPARC assists groups and communities to look at their emerging needs and opportunities by building on their strengths and by emphasizing collaboration among all sectors of the community. They seek inclusion of those who have traditionally been left out of planning and decision making. SPARC also conducts research on a wide range of social issues for communities, organizations and government on a fee- for service basis.

Activities and Publications: The team conducts research and publishes reports on current public policy issues. SPARC publishes a quarterly publication that provides information and commentary on social affairs in the province. They publish a variety of reports and handbooks to promote public understanding and discussion of social and economic issues of concern to people in communities in British Columbia.

14. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPC)

Suite 1001
2 Carlton St.
Toronto, ON M5B 1J3
Tel: (416) 351-0095
Fax: (416) 351-0107
Email: knight@wchat.on.ca
web page address: www.worldchat.com/public/tab/spcus.htm
Contact person: Andrew Mitchell Email: spcmetro@web.apc.org

Mission Statement/ Activities: The SPC of Toronto is an independent, non-profit, organization of individuals and groups funded by The United Way of Greater Toronto and The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. They are dedicated to research, planning, policy analysis and advocacy. Since 1940, they have been a leading community voice in social planning for the voluntary sector.

Policy Statement on Provincial Devolution of Responsibilities to Municipalities and Communities

An Historic Tradition of Social Change: "a social planning council has two principal objectives, the facilitation of citizen involvement in the development of social policies and the exercise of an independent voice in social policy. However, in pursuing these objectives the council develops a distinctive position for reforming social policies in order to improve the lot of the poor and the powerless." (Brian Wharf, case study of the Metro SPC in his *Communities and Social Policy in Canada*, 1992).

SPC Policy Positions: The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto does not support the main thrust and direction of the Ontario Government's announcements during the week of January 13, 1997 with respect to the devolution of major health, housing welfare, and social services responsibilities onto municipalities and the property tax base.

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto sees devolution of these responsibilities as counter to the public interest in the following ways:

- it reduces the role and responsibility of higher orders of government (federal and provincial) to assure equity and decent service standards in essential income, health, housing and social service supports for all Ontarians;
- it places essential income maintenance, health and social service supports on the regressive local property tax base rather than the progressive income tax base;
- it will promote highly variable standards of service across the province, increase inequities, and lead to leveling service provisions and standards to the lowest common denominator;
- it will give impetus to greater commercialization in human services which will create a highly fragmented service system with less regulation of service standards;
- it will lower labour standards in human services which will in turn, lead to poorer quality services less well monitored and regulated by the public eye;
- it will place an unfair care giving burden on women for dependent family members; and
- it will severely weaken the role of the voluntary sector and its traditional partnership with government which has produced highly efficient, high quality services along with the additional benefit of supporting strong volunteer participation in active community life

Governance: The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto supports municipal governance structures and processes that:

- provide effective service planning and development at a regional level;
- assign local and municipal functions and responsibilities to the appropriate local and regional levels with a clear rationale for how the local and regional levels work Together; are based on direct election of political representatives at all levels in order to maximize democratic accountability, and
- provide the municipal mechanisms and means for active citizen participation in local planning and decision making.

Service Delivery/Activities:

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto supports a social service delivery system that:

- supports people with dignity and respect;
- is responsive to local needs;
- provides mechanisms and processes for citizen and user participation in its design and evaluation;

- integrates regional planning and coordination with community level delivery as much as possible;
- applies sound labour standards in order to develop and assure a high quality human service workforce;
- maintains a primary and collaborative balance between public sector and voluntary sector provision with strong quality controls; and
- applies the same strong quality controls and labour standards to commercial operators.

SPC Publications List:

- Welfare Reform
- Social Development
- Child Poverty & Family Income & Employment
- New Perspectives
- Canadian Social & Economic Security
- Additional Titles of Interest

Employment:

- "Child Poverty in Metropolitan Toronto, Report Card 1995" (October, 1995) (8 panels of information folding out into wall poster of children on reverse side).
- Third annual report on child poverty in Metro produced by Metro Campaign 2000 in conjunction with the National Campaign committed to the elimination of child poverty in Canada by the year 2000. Guides for Family Budgeting - Updated Sample Budgets (November, 1994) 23pp.
- Guides for Family Budgeting (April, 1992).
- Unequal Futures: The Legacies of Child Poverty in Canada (October, 1991) 70pp.
- "Solidarities: Unions and Equity Groups in the New Economic Order" (May, 1993) 8pp.
- Four Reports and a Videotape Series of reports produced by the SPC, the Child Poverty Action Group, and the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto. Package Price (incl. videotape).

Individual Reports:

- The Outsiders. A Report on the Prospects of Young Families in Metro Toronto (May, 1994) 26pp.
- Voices of Young Families (July, 1994) 18pp.
- Building Communities: Community Hearings on the Prospects of Young Families in Metro Toronto (September, 1994).
- Policy Blueprint for Younger Families in Metro Toronto. In January 1995, forty leaders in family policy gathered in Toronto for an Experts' Roundtable on Young Families. Their goal was to develop a concise, realistic and innovative blueprint to guide policy development for young families in Metro Toronto. (May, 1995) 77pp

Videotape:

The Outsiders: Young Families in Metropolitan Toronto (May, 1996) VHS 12 minutes.

Social Infopacs:

- Young Workers and Toronto's Triple Dip' Recession, (June, 1994).
- The Impact of the New Federal Child Benefit on Families in Metro Toronto, (May, 19992) 11pp.

Research Resources:

The SPC offers the following titles of its previous research on Child Poverty & Family Income & Employment:

- The Cost of Raising a Child in the Toronto Area in 1991, (April, 1992) 10pp.
- The Cost of Raising a Child in the Toronto Area in 1986, (November, 1987) 8pp.
- Lone Parent Families in Transition, (November, 1988) 12pp.
- Child Poverty Re-Discovered, (December, 1986) 9pp.

New Perspectives:

- "Citizens in a Civic Society" (June, 1996).
- "Civic Solidarity: Foundations of Social Development in the 21st Century" (May, 1995) 13pp. plus four tables .
- Shifting Time. Social Policy and the Future of Work (Between the Lines, 1994) 139pp.
- "The Four-day Workweek" (February, 19994) 13pp.

Canadian Social & Economic Security:

- An Economic and Political Literacy Primer (3rd Edition, September, 1996) 1200+ pp.
- Paying for Canada: Perspectives on Public Finance and National Programs (October, 1994), 19pp .
- Social Policy Forum: Review of Canada's Social Security Programs (March, 1994), 19pp .
- Social Security Review: What are the Issues? (February, 1994), 95 pp. .

Additional Titles of Interest:

- A Social Report for Metro (1995) 54 pp.
- Target on Training: Meeting Workers' Needs in a Changing Economy (February, 1989) 126pp.
- Missing the Mark: Government Spending on Income Support and Training in Toronto (April, 1988) 85 pp.
- Caring for Profit: The Commercialization of Human Services in Ontario (October, 1984) 112pp.
- Working Families: Workplace Supports for Families (February, 1986) 20pp.
- Working Families: Attitudes Towards Alternative Work Arrangements (January, 1986) 40pp.
- A Time for Change: Moving Beyond Racial Discrimination in Employment (SPC and Urban Alliance on Race Relations, June, 1990) 94 pp.
- Case Studies: Multi-Racial Labour Force Project (SPC and Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1987) 200+pp.
- A Time for Action: Access to Health and Social Services for Members of Diverse Cultural and Racial Groups in Metropolitan Toronto (February, 1987) 249pp.

- The Deindustrialization of Metropolitan Toronto: A Study of Plant Closures, Lay-Offs and Unemployment (June, 1985) 110pp.

Social Infopacs:

- Bill 173 - an Act Respecting Long-Term Care. The Road to Long-Term Care Reform in Ontario?, (July, 1994) 12pp.
- Childcare: Linking Social and Economic Agendas, (May, 1993) 13pp.
- Real and Hidden Unemployment, Updated, (February, 1992) 89pp.
- Recession and Recovery, (August, 1991) 8pp.
- A Social Development Strategy for Metropolitan Toronto, December, 1990) 8pp.
- Bill C-21: Restructuring the Unemployment Insurance System, (March, 1990) 12pp.
- Human Services for Profit Issues and Trends, (December, 1984) 6pp.

An additional publication of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

- Ontario's Welfare Rate Cuts -An Anniverary Report. This Report was prepared by: Ian Morrison, Steering Committee on Social Assistance; Ontario Social Safety Network.

15. **Social Planning Council of Winnipeg**

412 McDermot Avenue

Winnipeg Manitoba, R3A 0A9

Tel: (204) 943-2561

Fax: (204) 942-3221

Web Page:<http://alpha.solutions.net/abinfohwy/aboorg/spc.html>

Mandate/ Mission Statement: The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (SPC) is a membership organization in the voluntary sector committed to providing leadership in social planning and effecting social policy changes. This involves working with diverse communities in identifying and assessing community issues, needs and resources and working with policy makers in Winnipeg to respond to those issues and needs in a manner consistent with its fundamental principles of human service planning.

Objectives/Activities: To identify and promote policy issues, needs and resources in the community to develop and promote policy and program options to policy makers to raise community awareness of social issues and human services needs, social policy options and service delivery alternatives.

Services Offered:

- Leadership in social policy development and change; lobbies government and presents policy alternatives supports community groups and voluntary human services sector in effecting social policy change
- Coordinates among various sectors: voluntary, business, government facilitates community partnerships around social policy issues public education through forums, think tanks, publications
- Internal planning services for non-government organizations interpretation of government funding policies assistance developing funding proposals analysis of demographic information PATH (Planning Alternatives Towards Hope) planning process

Research Services:

- neighbourhood profiles, including income levels, unemployment rates, demographic makeup, housing status, poverty levels, etc.
- social statistic trends from Statistics Canada Census data
- Links with social planning organizations nationally

Social Planning Council of Winnipeg Publications:**Publications on social policy issues/needs:**

- 1991 Statistics Canada Census data on social trends in Winnipeg will be available in early 1995.
- Social planning Council of Winnipeg Position Paper on Social Security Reforms, November 1994 & Re-Thinking Social Security in Canada (Recommendations from a Community Think Tank), April 1994.
- Child Poverty in Manitoba: An Approach Towards its Elimination, February 1992.
- A Safer Winnipeg for Women and Children, November 1991.
- SPeCifics News letter (last issue - Employment Equity: Who Wins? Who Loses? February 1994).

16. Toronto Coalition Against Homelessness

Toronto, Ontario

Tel:416-366-1711

Fax:416-366-3876

Web Page:www.competitor.net/electric/homeless/

Contact: Michael Shapcott - E-mail: mshapcot@web.net

Cathy Crowe at 416-703-9511, ext. 21

Mission Statement: "The Toronto Coalition Against Homelessness (TCAH) is a coalition of front-line organizations and others committed to ending homelessness. We believe that access to safe, affordable and supportive housing and appropriate services is a fundamental human right.

Activities: The purpose of TCAH is to expand popular awareness of the nature and extent of homelessness as a problem confronting Torontonians. Public and political action must be focused on the long-term solutions that will contribute to the eradication of this problem."

Toronto Coalition Against Homelessness Publications: Toronto Inquiry Into Homelessness - Special Report

17. United Way of Canada-Centraide Canada (UWC-CC)

404-56 Sparks Street,

Ottawa, ON K1P 5A9

Tel: (613) 236-7041 or Toll Free : 1-800-267-8221

Fax : (613) 236-3087

E-mail : OFFICE@UWC-CC.CA

Web Page: www.uwc-cc.ca/nation.html

Contact Person: Guy Adam, Director, Labour Programs and Services, Voice mail # 230
David Armour, President (Leave message with Louise, # 228)
Contact: Andy Wachtel Tel: 604-294-8929

Mandate/Mission Statement: UWC-CC provides various support services and products to its 121 member United Ways-Centraides (UWs-Cs) and is a voice for its members within the Canadian voluntary sector. Specific services and products are also available to the voluntary sector, national agencies, corporations, businesses, and other constituents of the UW-C network.

Mission statement of the Resource Centre: To establish a national Resource Center to support, all across Canada, those voluntary organizations which constitutes the United Way-Centraide network.

Activities/Objectives: To capture the resources, as well as the knowledge, and the experience in the UW-C network and from other sources in a manner that is user friendly. Make these resources available to all the UWs-Cs in Canada.

National Publications of UWC-CC:

- 1995 UWC-CC Annual Report
- National Directory
- Campaign Results
- Directory of Services and Tools
- Consultation Services
- Development Activities
- Education & Training
- Marketing & Communications

18. Winnipeg Harvest

1085 Winnipeg Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3E 0S2
Tel: (204) 982-3663
Fax: (204) 775-4180
E-mail: harvest@xpressnet.com
Web page: <http://www.xpressnet.com/harvest/contents.htm>
Contact Person:

Mandate/Mission Statement: Winnipeg Harvest is a non-profit organization committed to collecting and distributing surplus food to agencies feeding the hungry.

Activities:

- Agency Relations: The agency relation portfolio liaises with front line food bank agencies throughout Manitoba to insure that communication between the agencies and Winnipeg Harvest is open and that food,

information and support is shared. The agency relations area also liaises with community organizations with whom Winnipeg Harvest can contact to assist recipients and team members in crisis if necessary. This liaison provides a resource partnership that enriches Winnipeg Harvest.

- **Communications:** The communications portfolio is responsible for the gathering of information pertaining to the issues of hunger, poverty, unemployment and welfare. The information collected reflects our principles of dignity, compassion and sensitivity. Communications are carried out with the media, government, other agencies, food banks and the community through service clubs, schools, churches and other community groups.
- **Corporate Co-ordination:** The corporate co-ordination area is responsible for the development of a long term plan to increase the quantity and quality of corporate donated food products; to increase the amount and frequency of funds donated by both individuals and corporations; and to increase the frequency of in-kind donations of supplies and services to Winnipeg Harvest.
- **Operations:** The operations portfolio is responsible for the overall co-ordination of activity at Harvest. This area ensures that people and equipment are appropriately utilized to prepare and deliver food orders in a safe and timely manner. At the same time, operations ensures that food handling techniques maintain the safety of food products.
- **Referrals:** The referral department receives phone calls from individuals requiring supplementary food assistance. Recipients are registered at one of the various food banks throughout the city. Clients who arrive at Winnipeg Harvest are interviewed, served with an emergency food kit, placed at a food bank and if necessary provided with information about community resources to better assist them.

Winnipeg Harvest Publications/ Research:

Many requests are received by Harvest for Information. The research area responds not only to these requests but also participates in research in areas of social justice, poverty and hunger. For further information or to make a request for information please contact 982-3663.

19. Community Services Council of Newfoundland/ Labrador

Contact: Penny Rowe

*** information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

20. Regina Foodbank

Contact: Ed Bloos

*** information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

21. Social Research and Demonstration Corporation

250 Albert St, Suite 625

Ottawa, ON

Tel: (613) 237-2945

Fax: (613) 237-5045

E-mail: srdc@istar.ca

Web Page: [http:// www. srdc.org](http://www.srdc.org)

Contact: Elizabeth Rodgers or John Greenwood (Deputy director)

Mandate/Mission Statement: The SRDC is a nonprofit organization created in 1992 with the support of Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) to develop, field test, and evaluate social programs designed to improve the well-being of all Canadians, with a special concern for the effects on disadvantaged Canadians.

Activities: It attempts to provide policymakers and practitioners with reliable evidence about what does and does not work from the perspectives of government budgets, program participants, and society as a whole. It evaluates existing programs by testing new social program ideas at scale, and in multiple locations, before they become policy and are implemented on a broader basis.

Publications:

SRDC Reports include:

- Creating an Alternative to Welfare: First Year Findings on the Implementation, Welfare Impacts and Costs of the Self-Sufficiency Project. T. Mijanovich and D. Long. December, 1995
- The Struggle for Self-Sufficiency: Participants talk about Work, Welfare, and their Futures. W. Bancroft and S. Currie Vernon. December, 1995
- Do Financial Incentives Encourage Welfare Recipients to Work? Initial 18 month Findings from the Self-Sufficiency Project. D. Card and P. Robins, Feb 1996
- When Work Pays Better than Welfare: A summary of the Self-Sufficiency Project's Implementation, Focus Groups and Initial 18- Month Impact Reports. March 1996.

University/ Academic

1. Centre for Research on Economic and Social Policy-UBC

Department of Economics, UBC.

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1

Contact: Jon Kessleman E-mail: kessel@econ.ubc.ca

* the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication

2. John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy

Room 427 - Policy Studies Building

Queen's University

Kingston, ON K7L 3N6

Tel: 613-545-2294

Fax: 613-545-6025

E-mail: sullivas@qed.econ.queensu.ca.

Web Page: <http://qed.econ.queensu.ca/pub/jdi/deutsch>

Contact: Thomas Courchene (Director) E-mail: courchen@qsilver.queensu.ca

Mandate/Mission Statement: Established in 1984 as the successor to the John Deutsch Memorial, the John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy has emerged as one of the pre-eminent, university-based, economic policy institutes.

Activities: The JDI's goal is to facilitate and promote research, analysis and informed discussion across the full range of policy challenges facing Canada. The JDI's close association with the Queen's Department of Economics carries forward the long-standing contribution of the Department to Canadian public policy and at the same time ensures a continuing emphasis on the independence and quality of the Institute's activities.

Publications of the John Deutsch Institute:

- Policy Forum Series
- Roundtable Series
- Bell Canada Papers Series
- Walwyn Lecture Series

To order a book, please e-mail Sharon Sullivan at sullivas@qed.econ.queensu.ca. Address for the publications web page: <http://qed.econ.queensu.ca/pub/jdi/deutsch/>

3. Roehr Institute

York University
Kinsmen Building, York University
4700 Keele Street
North York, ON M3J 1P3
Tel: (416) 661-5701
Fax: (416) 661-2023
E-mail: mrioux@orion.yorku.ca ** waiting for reply
Contact: Michael Bach and Marcia Rioux
Web Page: <http://indie.ca/roehrer>

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

4. SARU

Contact Person: Dave Broad

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

5. School of Policy Studies

Queen's University
Kingston, ON K7L 3N6
Tel: 1-800-565-9523 (publications)
E-Mail: policy@qsilver.queensu.ca
Web Page: <http://qsilver.queensu.ca/sps/>
Contact Person: Keith Bantung ?

Mandate: The School of Policy Studies at Queen's University is dedicated to the advancement of education and research in public policy and management. The faculty and fellows associated with the School have expertise that collectively spans an extensive number of disciplines and policy issues. Their strength also lies with their experience working with both academia and the public sector. The Teaching Programs, including the full time and the professional Master of Public Administration programs, prepare students for leadership roles in government and other organizations.

Activities: The School's research and conference activities contribute to the development of public policy on a wide range of critical issues facing contemporary Canadian society. These activities provide a bridge between the academic world and the larger policy community. The School brings together leading researchers and policy-makers from across the country and internationally to identify and debate policy options on social, environmental, economic, fiscal, defence, political and intergovernmental issues.

School of Policy Studies -Publications: The School has emerged as an active publisher in the policy field. The Queen's Policy Studies publication program includes the research work of the School, the John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, and the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations. The School has a high quality publishing system, and its publications are distributed by McGill-Queen's University Press. Publications can be purchased through McGill-Queen's by calling 1-800-565-9523. Also see web site: <http://qsilver.queensu.ca/sps/qpps.htm> (for additional publications)

6. **Child Welfare Research Centre**

3333 University Way

Prince George, B.C.

V2N 4Z9

Tel: (250) 960--5714

Fax: (250) 960-5535

Contact: Gordon Ternowetsky

E-mail: gordon@unbc.ca

Web Page: http://www.unbc.ca/cwrc_page/home.htm

Mission/ Mandate: The major objectives of the Child Welfare Research Centre are to facilitate community based research, community work and Summer Institutes devoted to linking research with policy and the field practice concerns of the delivery of child welfare services in northern British Columbia.

Activities/ Publications: The CWRC has a Working Paper Series and supports research and publications of faculty members of the Social Work, Nursing, Psychology and Education Programmes in the Faculty of Health and Human Sciences at the University of Northern British Columbia. The Centre works closely with community groups, First Nations, regional agencies and consumer groups in facilitating the development of community research strategies and competencies. The Child Welfare Research Centre houses a Clearing House for research materials in child welfare and areas and issues that impinge on child welfare.

Specific Publications:

- CWRC Working Paper Series.
- Rethinking Child and Family Policies: Struggles, Strategies and Options. Gordon Ternowetsky, UNBC; Jane Pulkingham, Simon Fraser University, 1997.
- Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Fetal Alcohol Effects: A Resource Manual. G. Schmidt, and J. Turpin.
- Approaches to Fetal Alcohol Syndrome and Fetal Alcohol Effect in Northern and Remote Communities. G. Schmidt and J. Turpin.
- Protecting Children by Empowering Women: Report of a Project in Progress. B. Isaac and B. Herringer
- Northern Voices: Health, Social, Economic Issues in the North. B Leipert.
- The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: A Critical Commentary. G. Ternowetsky and J. Pulkingham.
- The New Canada Child Tax Benefit: Eradicating Poverty or Discounting the Poorest of the Poor. G. Ternowetsky and J. Pulkingham.
- The New CCTB: Eradicating Poverty: CCPA Monitor by J. Pulkingham, G. Ternowetsky and D. Hay. CWRC Newsletter- published regularly

Government

1. Canadian Employment Research Forum

CERF Secretariat
Box 828, Station B
Ottawa, ON K10 5P9
Fax: 613-238-7698
E-mail: staff@informetrica.com
Contact: W.Craig Riddell- Economics Dept. UBC
Tel: 604-822-2106
(or) Ging Wong- Gov't co-chair - Strategic Policy, HRDC
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0J9
Tel: 613-954-7709

* the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication

2. Employability and Social Partnerships Division (ESP)

Employability and Social Partnerships
Human Resources Development Canada, Phase IV
140 Promenade du Portage
Hull, QC K1A 0J9
Tel.: (819) 997-1452
Fax: (819) 997-1359
Email: etheriau@istar.ca
Web Page: www.globalx.net/esp-eps/contacte.html
Contact Person: Evariste Theriault

Mandate/Mission Statement: The Employability and Social Partnerships Division (ESP) is a new funding program for Research&Development (R&D) initiated in April 1996 in Human Resources Development Canada. ESP brings together the human and financial resources of three previous programs: Child Care Visions (CCV), Disabled Persons Participation Program (DPPP), and National Welfare Grants (NWG). ESP has the capacity to provide both grants and contributions for R&D activities focusing on the social development and employability of populations who may be at risk.

(See HRDC Publications below)

SITE: <http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/common/site.html>

3. Human Resources Development- Canada

Social Policy, HRDC
8th Floor, Phase IV
Place du Portage
Hull, Quebec, K1A 0J9

Tel: (819) 997-1452
Fax: (819) 994-0203
Email: etheriau@istar.ca
Contact: Evariste Theriault
Applied Research Branch Website: <http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/common/site.html>

Mandate: The fundamental guiding principle of HRDC is to provide high-quality service to its clients. The web sites offer information on the programs and services we offer our clients, about our organization and the people who run it. It contains links to other HRDC sites in communities across Canada, and to locations where you can find help if you are looking for work, such as the Electronic Labour Exchange, the Job Bank and CanWorkNet.

Activities: The Social Policy Branch is part of the Strategic Policy Group of Human Resources Development Canada. The Branch is responsible for the development of strategic policy analysis and advice on a broad range of income security and social development issues facing Canadians.

HRDC is one of the largest federal departments with more than 20,000 employees. The Department's programs and services are delivered through a network of Human Resource Centres of Canada, located in hundreds of communities across the country.

HRDC publications- Applied Research Branch:

Enquiries Centre
Human Resources Development Canada
140 Promenade du Portage, Phase IV
Hull, Quebec K1A 0J9
Fax: (819) 953-7260
E-mail: info@hrdc-drhc.gc.ca
Home page for publications:
http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca/hrdc/corp/stratpol/progeval/pubind_e.html

Specific Publications:

- The Applied Research Bulletin is a Human Resources Development Canada document summarizing recent work of a research or analytical nature carried out under the auspices of the Applied Research Branch, Strategic Policy.
 - ◇ Volume 3, Number 1 (Winter-Spring 1997)
 - ◇ Volume 2, Number 2 (Summer-Fall 1996)
 - ◇ Volume 2, Number 1 (Winter 1995-96)
 - ◇ Volume 1, Number 2 (Summer 1995)
- Students Work And Service Program (SWASP) - Newfoundland and Labrador
- Nova Scotia COMPASS Program
- NB Job Corps
- Process Evaluation Ready-to-Learn Project - Prince Edward Island
- Investing in People - Northwest Territories
- Integrated Training Centres for Youth (ITCY) - Alberta

- Success Nova Scotia 2000 - Nova Scotia
- Strategic Employment Opportunities - Newfoundland/Labrador
- Graduate Employment/Self-Employment - Newfoundland/Labrador
- Choice and Opportunity - Prince Edward Island

Released on October 21, 1996

- Evaluation of the Employability Improvement Program

Released on August 16, 1996

- Seasonal Employment and the Repeat Use of Unemployment Insurance
- Unemployment Insurance and Labour Market Transitions
- Interprovincial Labour Mobility in Canada: The Role of Unemployment Insurance, Social Assistance and Training
- The Distributional Implications of Unemployment Insurance: A Micro-Simulation Analysis
- Income Distributional Implications of Unemployment Insurance and Social Assistance in the 1990s: A Micro-Simulation Approach

Released on January 17, 1996

- Unemployment Insurance and Job Search Productivity
- Effects of Benefit Rate Reduction and Changes in Entitlement (Bill C-113) on Unemployment, Job Search Behaviour and New Job Quality
- Jobs Excluded from the Unemployment System in Canada: An Empirical Investigation
- Effects of Bill C-113 on UI Take-up Rates
- Implication of Extensive Unemployment Insurance Coverage to Self-Employment and Short Hours Work Week: A
- Micro-Simulation Approach
- The Impact of Unemployment Insurance on Wages, Search Intensity and the Probability of Re-employment
- Income and Living Standards During Unemployment
- Studies of the Interaction of UI and Welfare using the COEP Dataset

Released on January 09, 1996

- Qualifying for Unemployment Insurance: An Empirical Analysis of Canada
- Unemployment Insurance and Employment Durations: Seasonal and Non-Seasonal Jobs
- Employment Patterns and Unemployment Insurance
- State Dependence and Unemployment Insurance
- The UI System as an Automatic Stabiliser in Canada
- Canada's Unemployment Insurance Program as an Economic Stabiliser

Released in May 1995

- Unemployment Insurance, Temporary Layoffs and Recall Expectations
- Firms, Industries, and Cross-Subsidies: Patterns in the Distribution of UI Benefits and Taxes
- Employer Responses to UI Experience Rating: Evidence from Canadian and American Establishments

Employment and Social Partnerships: can be reached through: www.globalx.net/esp-eps/contacte.html

Income Security:

- A Program of Policy Research and Analysis, November 6, 1997
- A Social Development Research Program, September 12, 1997
- Familles pauvres: Alternatives aux interventions actuelles, June 6, 1997
- Inputs and Outcomes: A Comparative Analysis of Policies to Reduce Child and Family Poverty, September 12, 1997
- The National Forum on Family Security, June 6, 1997
- World Summit for Social Development: Canadian Civil Society, June 5, 1997

4. National Council of Welfare

2nd Floor- 1010 Somerset St. West
Ottawa, ON K1A 0J9
Tel: 613-957-2963
Fax: 613-957-0680
Contact: Steve Kerstetter
Web Page: No web page available

Mission Statement/Activities: The National Council of Welfare was established by the Government Organization Act, 1969, as a citizen's body to the federal government. It advises the Minister of Human Resources Development on matters of concern to low income Canadians. The Council members are private citizens and serve in their personal capacities rather than as representatives of organizations or agencies.

Publications: The Council publishes reports which deal with a wide range of issues on poverty and social policy in Canada. Some of the publications include:

- Welfare in Canada: The Tangled Safety Net (November, 1987).
- Child Care: A Better Alternative (December, 1988).
- Pension Reform (February, 1980).
- Women and Poverty Revisited (Summer 1990).
- Health, Health Care and Medicare (Autumn 1990).
- The Canada Assistance Plan: No Time for Cuts (Winter, 1991).
- Funding Health and Higher Education: Danger Looming (Spring, 1991).
- Welfare Reform (Summer 1992).

- Incentives and Disincentives to Work (Autumn 1993).
- Social Security Backgrounders (Summer, 1994).
- A Blueprint for Social Security Reform (Autumn, 1994).
- Legal and the Poor (Winter, 1995).
- The 1995 Budget and Block Funding (Spring, 1995).
- A Pension Primer (Summer, 1996).
- A Guide to Proposed Seniors Benefits (Summer, 1996).
- Improving the Canadian Pension Plan (Autumn, 1996).
- Gambling in Canada (Winter, 1996).
- Child Benefits: A Small Step Forward (Spring, 1997).
- Healthy Parents, Healthy Babies (Summer 1997).
- Poverty Profile (Annual Publication).
- Welfare Incomes (Annual Publication).

5. Status of Women Canada- National Office

360 Albert St. (7th Floor)

Ottawa, ON K1A 1C3

Tel: 613-995-7835**

Fax: 613-957-3359

Tdd: 613-996-1322

E-mail: webcoord@msmail.swc-cfc.gc.ca

Mission Statement/ Mandate: Status of Women Canada (SWC) is the federal government agency which promotes gender equality, and the full participation of women in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the country. SWC focuses its work in three areas: improving women's economic autonomy and well-being, eliminating systemic violence against women and children, and advancing women's human rights.

Activities: SWC works to provide Canadians with strengthened and more equitable public policy by conducting gender-based analysis and promoting its application throughout the federal government. It supports research that brings the gender dimensions of policy issues into the public agenda. SWC also plays a vital role in supporting the work of women's and other equality-seeking organizations. It promotes women's equality in collaboration with organizations from the non-governmental, voluntary and private sectors. In promoting women's equality globally, SWC works with other countries and international organizations.

Publications:

- Publication # 96-S-002. A Place to Call One's Own: New Voices of Dislocation and Dispossession (February 1996, 189 pages). This exploratory study aims at identifying the housing conditions and needs of immigrant women and racial minority women. One of the first housing studies to focus on both gender and race as central variables, the paper examines instances of inequality and discrimination in the Canadian housing system, as well as the effects of immigration policy on the housing conditions of immigrant women.
- Publication # 95-U-007. Canada's National Report to the UN Conference on Women (August 1994, 85 pages). This report provides information on Canada's national and international activities and accomplishments that address the needs of Canadian women.

- Publication # 97-S-001. Data Sources on Immigrant Women (March 1997, 19 pages). This document was produced by Statistics Canada for Status of Women to give users an indication of the diversity of data available on immigrant women. It summarizes the general purpose, periodicity, geography, available characteristics, and sample size for immigrant women in the Census.
- Publication # 97-G-008. Descriptive List of Grants and Contributions Provided through the Women's Program, Status of Women Canada, April 1, 1995 to March 31, 1996 (March 1997, 19 pages) (June 1997, 121 pages).
- Publication # 95-L-001. Federal Plan for Gender Equality (Setting the Stage for the Next Century) (August 1995, 83 pages). The Federal Plan is the Government of Canada's blueprint for gender equality for the coming years. It is both a statement of specific commitments and a framework for the future, representing the concerted effort of 24 federal departments and agencies, spearheaded by Status of Women Canada.
- Publication # 96-S-001. From the Reserve to the City: Amerindian Women in Quebec Urban Centres (December 1995, 94 pages). This report looks at the situation of Aboriginal women who leave their home communities to live in urban centres. The study flags key concerns of Aboriginal women in Quebec, such as poverty, child care, violence, health issues and self-government.
- Publication # 96-L-001. Gender-Based Analysis: A guide for policy-making (March 1996, 30 pages). In 1995, the federal government adopted a policy requiring federal departments and agencies to conduct gender-based analysis of future policies, programs and legislation. This guide is a "hands-on" working document to assist in the implementation of this policy.
- Publication # 95-T-002. Meeting Women's Needs: Case Studies Subscription Request
- Publication # 97-G-010. Perspectives - SWC Newsletter A newsletter issued three times a year by SWC to inform Canadians about issues and events of interest to women.
- Publication # 96-G-010. Publications List A complete listing of all publications available from Status of Women Canada. Contact: Distribution, Status of Women Canada, 360 Albert Street, Suite 700, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 1C3, telephone (613) 947-8477, fax (613) 957-3359, TDD (613) 996-1322, Email: vilas@swc-cfc.gc.ca.
- Publication # 95-E-001. Reforming the Canada Pension Plan: The Implications for Women (November 1995, 38 pages). This paper examines the importance of the CPP for women. Proposed reforms, with particular emphasis on their potential impact on women are outlined, and ways in which the CPP might be strengthened are suggested.
- Publication # 95-T-001. Rethinking Training: Meeting Women's Needs
- Publication # 95-G-004. Status of Women Canada Information Sheet .A one-page information sheet describing SWC's mandate and responsibilities.
- Publication # 95-G-005. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women: an overview 25 years later (December 1995, 9 pages). Reviews the Royal Commission's recommendations and their implementation related to women in the Canadian economy, education, women and the family, taxation, poverty, participation of women in public life, immigration and citizenship, criminal law and women offenders.
- Publication # 96-E-001. Toward a Framework for Evaluating the Policy Implications of Unpaid Work (October 1995, 13 pages). This paper raises policy questions, and proposes criteria with which to evaluate existing and emerging unpaid work policies. A proposal to develop common gender-based principles that could guide governments and decision-makers in assessing unpaid work policies is included.
- Publication # 95-G-003. Women in Canada - information sheet (August 1995). A one-page information sheet listing statistics on women and education, poverty, diversity employment, health, living arrangements and violence.
- Publication # 97-G-007. Women in Canada - Towards Equality (April 1997, 5 pages). A brochure describing economic and social issues of interest to women related to economic status, health and violence against women.

- Publication # 95-U-004. Women's Equality and the Media (UNESCO International Symposium) (March 1995, 36 pages). A background paper presented at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) International Symposium "Women and the Media: Access to Expression and Decision-Making" in February 1995. The symposium was a pre-conference to the Fourth UN World Conference on Women that was held in Beijing in September 1995.
- Publication # 95-U-001. Women's Equality in Canada, Implementing the Nairobi FLS Forward-Looking-Strategies for the Advancement of Women Jan. 92-April 95. (April 1995, 92 pages).
- Describes policy, legislative and other initiatives undertaken by Canada's federal, provincial and territorial governments to advance women's equality, in accordance with the Nairobi FLS.

6. British Columbia/Yukon Office

3430-757 W. Hastings St

Vancouver, BC V6C 1A1

Tel: 604-666-1953

Fax: 604-666-0212

E-mail: swcbck@web.net

Contact: Lorraine Cameron, Regional Coordinator

*** the remainder of the information was not received prior to publication**

7. Government of Saskatchewan

1920 Broad St.

Regina, Saskatchewan

Tel: (306) 787-7354

Fax: (306) 787-1600

Contact: David Rosenbluth (MSS)

Head of Research and Evaluation

Ministry of Social Services

*** the remainder of the information was not received prior to publication**

8. Canadian Employment Research Forum (CERF)

P.O. Box 828, Station B

Ottawa, ON K1P 5P9

Fax: (613) 238-7698

Email: staff@informetrica.com

web page: cerf.mcmaster.ca/

Contact:-

W. Craig Riddell (Academic Co-Chair)

Economics Department,

University of British Columbia

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z1.

(604) 822-2106

Ging Wong (Government Co-Chair) Strategic Policy,
Human Resources Development Canada,
Ottawa, ON K1A 0J9.
(613) 954-7709

Peter Kuhn (Program Director)
Economics Department,
McMaster University
Hamilton, ON L8S 4M4.
(905) 525-9140 ext. 23817

Alice Nakamura (Chair, Nominations Committee)
Faculty of Management,
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2R6.
(403) 492-5824

Michael McCracken (Treasurer)
Informetrica Limited,
P.O. Box 828, Station B,
Ottawa, ON K1P 5P9
(613) 238-4831

Mandate/ Mission Statement: The Canadian Employment Research Forum (CERF) is a non-profit corporation whose objects are:

- * to improve the level of employment and social policy analysis and debate in Canada by encouraging policy related empirical research; and
- * to improve interaction among researchers and policy-makers from governments, universities, business, labour and other communities concerned with employment and social issues.

CERF is governed by a rotating board of directors, with ongoing representation from academia, governments, and related organizations. Its main current funding source is Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), with growing support from other federal and provincial government departments and agencies, universities and private institutions. Participation in CERF events is open to anyone with an interest in Canadian labour market and social policy issues.

Activities: CERF's main activities have been the organization and funding of applied research through conferences, workshops and by supporting research projects of particular relevance to the policy community.

Unions

1. British Columbia Teacher's Federation

550-6th Ave

Vancouver, B.C.

Tel: 604-871-1871

contact: Ken Novakowski

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

2. Canadian Auto Workers

205 Placer Court, North York

Willowdale, ON M2H 3H9

Tel: 416-495-6548

Fax: 416-495-6552

E-mail: cawcomm@caw.ca

Web Page: <http://www.caw.ca.caw>

Contact: Jim Stanford

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

3. Canadian Labour Congress

Contact: Andrew Jackson

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

4. Trade Union Research Bureau (BC)

170-111 Victoria Dr.

Vancouver, BC

Tel: 604-255-7346

Fax: 604-255-0971

E-mail: turb@bc.sympatico.ca

Contact: David Fairey

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**

5. Saskatchewan Government Employees Union

Contact: Barb Byers

*** the remainder of the information for this organization was not received prior to publication**